"POWER OF THE PEOPLE" FREES BOB WELLS SEE PAGE 5

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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25¢



WHO'S BEHIND THE MURDER OF MAMA KING?



MRS. M. L. KING, SR.

REV. JESSE JACKSON

ARETHA FRANKLIN

REV. M.L. KING, SR.

REV. RALPH ABERNATHY

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Do Away With 4th of July

See Centerfold

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EDITORIAL

MAMA KING

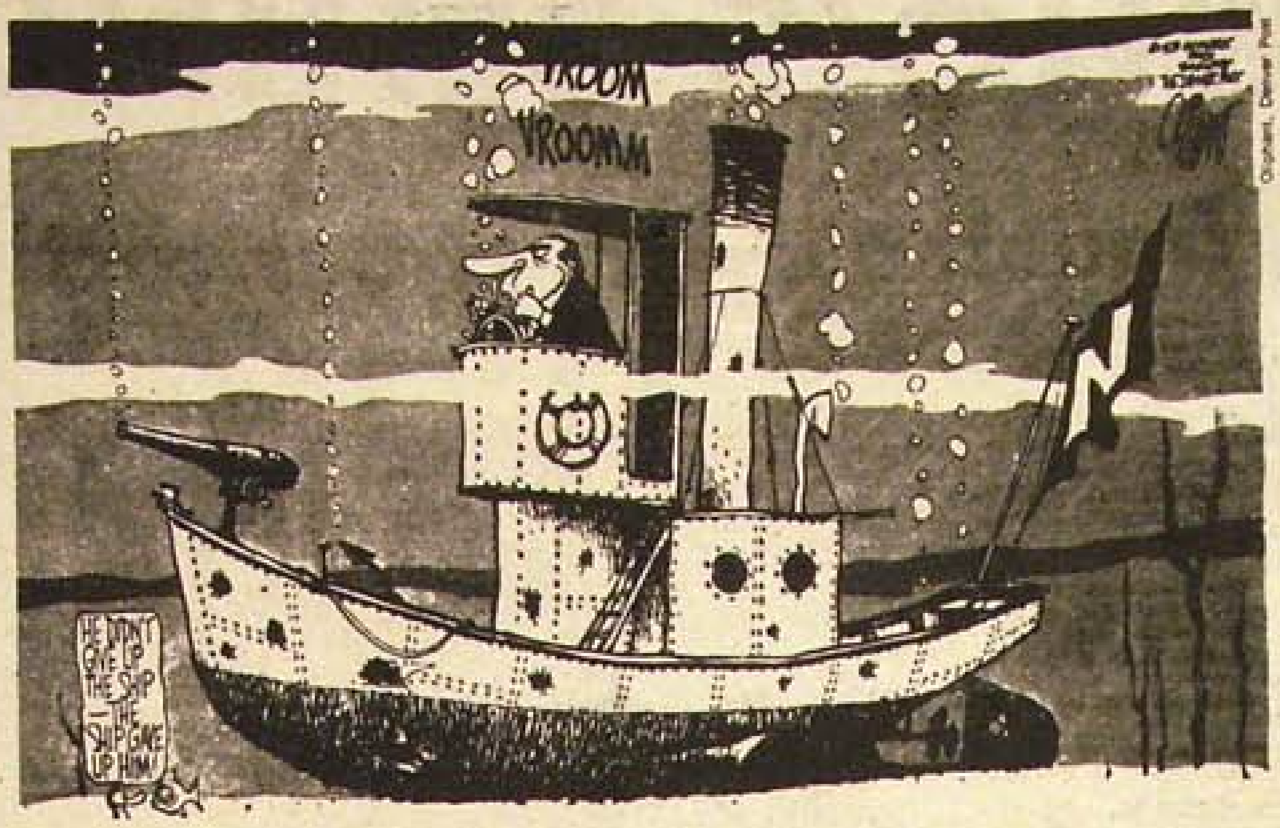
What drove young Marcus Wayne Chenault, a loner in search of a spiritual reality, to the premeditated act that resulted in the tragic deaths of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., Mr. Edward Boykin and injury to Mrs. Jimmie Mitchell in Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church last Sunday morning, shocking Black communities throughout the country?

First, the continued existence of White racism throughout the entire fabric of the American society and its consequent manifestations in the denial of opportunity for Black people in all walks of American life. Young, Black college students and graduates, led to believe they can escape this evil through college preparation, are particularly desperate when they discover they have been lied to.

Second, the refusal of that great institution, the Black Church, to play the militant liberation role to which it was committed in its early days. Today, Black youths raised in deeply religious homes observe their pastors and the mighty of the Black Church, in the main, continuing to dispense the opiate of some imaginery life after death "where love reigns and all men are brothers," while railing against militant commitment to liberation.

Third, the war-crazed, violence-prone atmosphere created in this country by the U.S. industrial/military complex, in concert with domestic, paramilitary police, to justify imperial plunder and resistance to liberation abroad and repression and brutality at home. Conspirators and provocateurs are rampant among us encouraging acts that turn us against one another and undermine our efforts toward unity.

The tragedy at Ebenezer Baptist Church last Sunday demonstrates that far too few of us have made the total commitment to liberation that today's America demands. If all of us had sustained the commitment that Martin Luther King, Jr., inspired and demonstrated, that Malcolm X inspired and demonstrated, that Huey P. Newton inspires and demonstrates today, young Chenault would surely have found a constructive release for his desperation, would have been fortified against provocation and [illegible] and Mama King [illegible]e with us today. □



Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades,

I have received the poster of Brother Huey P. Newton and I am most pleased. Brother, I am most impressed and moved and educated by the work of the Black Panther Party. I have been reading the B.P.P. every since the 60s and I am 20 years old now, and I know for a fact that every statement and accusation printed in the B.P.P.P. is true and is still happening.

I have been incarcerated many times in and out of the system's institutions every since I was 15 until I was 19. I have witnessed the acts of (so-called) justice by the courts. I was sent to supreme court on charges of stolen property, and burglary 3. The true charge was possession of stolen goods. After the grand jury did not accept our case (me and two Brothers) we were supposed to be set free. So they (the Court Clerk) did not like this down in Criminal Court so they said we had supreme court holdings from previous cases. This was only a conspiracy to continue to incarcerate us as they have done and are still doing oppressed people that are being held in their institutions all over the nations.

I live in the so-called ghetto of N.Y., Brownsville, where the pigs are vicious and the housing is poor and children are hungry. I have been harassed by the establishment local law enforcers. Currently, I have tried to speak with some of the brothers here about the system. But some fail to be faithful and some turn the other way. Some say "he's crazy." But there are some brothers who are willing and who will give their lives for other Brothers.

How long does it take them to try and convict a corrupt president. I was told in the court (supreme court) once by the judge that "he was tired of us young punks trying to run the system all the time," (sentenced). But I do not know enough to run the system, but I do know when my rights and rights of others like me are violated. So this why I am asking a part in the Black Panther P arty Party as a Panther so that I can help all oppressed people learn true political education.

Thanks for the poster, and may the struggle be victorious.

All Power to the People

Brother & Comrade L. Kearse
San Marcos, Texas

Dear Sir,

"All Power to the People" to my Brothers and Sisters. I greet you with this revolutionary greeting.

I would like to congratulate you, my Brothers and Sisters, on the work you have done in the struggle against inhumane conditions and oppressions that you my dear Brothers and Sisters face.

The Black Panther Party has done wonderful work in spite of government refusal to help in the desires, needs and wants of the people. The Black Panther has shown you the awareness you must have in such a society.

I sincerely hope that you will continue your struggle for change and there is unity among the peace-loving people in the States.

All Power to the Black Panther Party.

Yours in Struggle,
Mike Thama
Suva, Fiji Islands

Dear Editor:

A very encouraging event took place on Sunday, June 30. A nigger, while sitting in a church in Atlanta, drew his guns and shot two niggers dead.

Now, I believe that every nigger who intended to use them in that way, would be allowed to carry fire arms. Just think—if every nigger picked up a gun and shot two other niggers, why before long there wouldn't be enough niggers left to operate a nigger newspaper like yours to print letters like mine!

E. Boers
Alameda, California

COMMENT

"THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS"

By Vernon E. Jordan

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, in the following article reprinted from last week's Newsweek, *exposes the myth of the alleged vast Black middle class that has recently been played up in many establishment magazines and on TV. We applaud Mr. Jordan's integrity and courage.*

Recent reports of the existence of a vast Black middle class remind me of daring explorers emerging from the hidden depths of a strange, newly discovered world bearing tales of an exotic new phenomenon. The media seem to have discovered, finally, Black families that are intact, Black men who are working, Black housewives tending backyard gardens and Black youngsters who aren't sniffing coke or mugging old ladies.

And out of this "discovery" a new Black stereotype is beginning to emerge. Immaculately dressed, cocktail in hand, the new Black stereotype comes off as a sleek, sophisticated professional light-years away from the ghetto experience. As I turn the pages of glossy photos of these idealized, fortunate few, I get the feeling this new Black image is all too comforting to Americans weary of the struggle against poverty and racism.

But this stereotype is no more real than was the old image of the angry, fire-breathing militant. And it may be just as damaging to Black people, for whom equal opportunity is still a theory and for whom a national effort to bring about a more equitable distribution of the fruits of an affluent society is still a necessity. After all, who can argue the need for welfare reform, for guaranteed jobs, for integrated schools and better housing, when the supposed beneficiaries are looking out at us from the pages of national magazines, smiling at the camera between sips from their Martinis?

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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S.Q.6 TRIAL TESTIMONY

TALAMANTEZ' YOUNG SON SEES FATHER IN CHAINS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - One of the most touching and moving testimonies to date occured in federal court here last week when Luis Talamantez, 31, the oldest member of the San Quentin 6, took the stand and told a hushed courtroom his anxieties at receiving a visit from his son while in chains.

The entire holiday shortened week of courtroom hearings into the cold and cruel conditions within San Quentin's Adjustment Center (AC) belonged to the final two San Quentin 6 brothers to testify, Talamentez and David Johnson, 27. Also testifying was one of the Six's staunchest supporters, Robert Devon, Jr., a brother now in general population but who spent five years on San Quentin's Death Row as well as doing time in Quentin's notorious "B"-wing and in the AC itself

4 1/2 YEARS IN AC

Talamantez, who was placed in the AC four and one-half years ago on charges for which he was later found innocent, said he pleaded with a guard and had his sister and some friends write Warden Louis Nelson in an unsuccessful attempt not to have his hands and legs chained when he saw his seven-year-old son for the first time.

Talamantez told the court that his son, born shortly after he first went to prison in 1965 and now eight, is the one thing in life that holds meaning for him. "When I get out of prison I might not be able to make a go of it no more," Talamantez said. "But my son will represent me in society...He is the only good thing I have going for me."

Brother Luis said that he had been putting off the visit until last year, on his son's seventh birthday, when friends convinced him to overcome his fears. He recounted the situation when he saw his son for the first time in July, 1973: "First of all I was dressed as a peon in white overalls. Then I was loaded down with chains over my legs, hands and waist...My kid is on the other side of the glass partition. I wasn't sure I could go through with it without breaking down or without having him break down

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WHO'S BEHIND THE MURDER OF MAMA KING?



MAMA KING in a loving PORTRAIT WITH HER SON, the late DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and his wife, CORETTA.

(Atlanta, Ga.) - The U.S. Justice Department, after only three days "investigation " has concluded that no conspiracy was involved in the shooting death of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., here last Sunday. The announcement echos the claims of Atlanta police investigator Lt. B.L. Niekirk the day following the tragedy that there was no evidence suggesting a conspiracy.

These conclusions are in direct contradiction with the opinion of the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the only person to talk with 23-year-old Marcus Wayne Chenault, the accused killer of Mrs. King and Ebenezer Baptist Church deacon Edward Boykin following his arrest, except his lawyer and "law enforcement" officers.

Mrs. King and Deacon Boykin were killed and Mrs. Jimmy Mitchell, 63, was wounded when Chenault rose from his seat close to the three, while the Sunday morning congregation bowed in prayer to the organ playing of "The Lord's Prayer" by Mrs. King, shouted: "I'm tired of this hell! I'm going to kill every motherfucker in here! " and emptied two guns before he was wrestled to the ground by parishoners.

Emerging from a visit with Chenault in his cell on Sunday, a few hours after the shooting, Rev. Abernathy said Chenault told him that "I was on the list, that there was a conspiracy to get all the civil rights leaders."

The list referred to by Chenault was found in his Columbus, Ohio, apartment by police and contained the names of 10 national religious and civil rights leaders who, according to police, were marked for death. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., according to Chenault, headed the list.

For unexplained reasons, as of this writing, police investigators have not made public all the names on the list. Reports indicate that the list included the names of Rev. Abernathy, Rev. Ike (the television minister), soul singer Aretha Franklin, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and civil rights leader Rev. Hosea Williams.

The *Atlanta Constitution* of July 3 reports that Atlanta police said they had found *two* "death lists" that allegedly were compiled by Chenault. The paper reports that some of the names indicated above were on one of the lists.

Rev. Abernathy added that Chenault told him: "If you want to live, you'd better get that Rev. off your name." When Rev. Abernathy reminded the young man that he was in jail and could not hurt anyone, Chenault's reply was, "That's all right. There is a group that could get you."

The New York Times reported last Wednesday that the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a former aide to the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said he had received a telephone call about the Atlanta slayings. The caller, an unidentified man, gave him a name and address and told Rev. Shuttlesworth that they belonged to the person who had ordered the killing of Mrs. King. Rev. Shuttlesworth said he passed the name and address to the FBI.

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STATE COURT REJECTS CHARLES BURSEY APPEAL

(Oakland, Calif.) - The State Court of Appeals has refused to overturn the conviction of Black Panther Party member Charles Bursey. Bursey and a former Black Panther Party member, Warren Wells, challenged the racial composition of the 1968 Alameda County Grand Jury which indicted them for alleged involvement in a West Oakland shootout.

The two men appealed on grounds that Alameda County Superior Court Judge Alan A. Lindsay erred in refusing to make the judges who selected the grand jurors available for examination at a hearing on a motion to quash the indictment. Both convictions were reversed, with the trial court directed to consider evidence from the judges, and a hearing was held.

The appellate court claimed that the judges had tried to acquaint themselves with the Black community, had chosen Blacks and had not limited their choices to their acquaintances.

SEATTLE POLICE ATTEMPT DRUG FRAME-UP OF B.P.P. MEMBER

(Seattle, Wash.) - Seattle police officers recently arrested and attempted a drug frame-up against Brother Morris White, a member of the Seattle Branch of the Black Panther Party, while he was collecting donations for the Party's Free Breakfast Program for School Children.

Police officers E.D. Bisson and W. Morrell arrested Brother White on University Way N.E., for allegedly "creating a delinquent disturbance." Instead of issuing a ticket on the spot as required by law, the policemen insisted that Brother White be taken to the police station "so that the sergeant can tell you how to solicit."

The two foot patrolmen left Morris unhandcuffed, and told him to get in a police car when it arrived to take them to the police station. When they opened the door, Morris spotted a marijuana cigarette near the back of the front seat on the floor. Morris shouted in a loud voice to be overheard by onlookers that he would not get in the car until the marijuana cigarette was removed.

The three policemen attempted to act surprised, but their set-up attempt had obviously failed.

The Seattle Branch of the Black Panther Party has filed a complaint against the policemen with the Internal Investigations Division of the Seattle Police Department concerning this attempted entrapment and the increased harassment of Party members collecting donations.

All complaints are subject to review by the mayor's office. If no positive action is taken, the Party will take other legal and political means to force the police to discontinue their harassment of donation collectors for Free Community Survival Programs. □



Brother MORRIS WHITE collecting donations for the survival programs of the Black Panther Party in Seattle.

MURDER OF MAMA KING

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Further evidence of the existence of a conspiracy was provided by an interview that appeared in the *Dayton Journal-Herald* by a person who identified himself as a close associate of Chenault. Later identified as Walter E. Brooks, Jr., he revealed that he and Chenault were part of an organization called "The Troop." Its avowed purpose, Brooks reportedly said, was to kill Black ministers and civil rights leaders who members of the group felt had deceived and falsely led Black people.

Mr. Brooks also said in the interview that Dr. King, Sr., had been the original target, and added that "The Troop" had about five members living in the Dayton area and others living in Cincinnati, Youngstown and Columbus, Ohio.

Brooks said he was to have accompanied Chenault to Atlanta, but that Chenault had left without him. In Atlanta, however, attorney for Chenault, Randy Bacote, said Chenault told him he had "never been a party to any group, organization or following."

Latest press reports suggest that Brooks, who held a job as janitor at Wright Patterson Air Force Base outside Dayton, Ohio, has disappeared and is presently being hunted in connection with the murders in Atlanta.

Dayton police said on Tuesday they were investigating a possible link between the killing of Mrs. King and the "mysterious" deaths of two Black ministers in Dayton in the last two months. The Rev. William Wright, 56, was killed by a sniper May 12 and the Rev. Eugene C. Johnson, Jr., 30, was shot and killed June 3. There have been no arrests or suspects in the two cases, the police said.

Meanwhile, a vicious riot-geared and mounted police attack against peaceful Black demonstrators in the streets of Atlanta the week preceeding the shooting, has been largely ignored by the establishment press. The bloody confrontation that *Newsweek* magazine called "a nightmare come true," followed the earlier police killing of a 17-year-old Black youth and the arrest of Rev. Hosea Williams and 34 other demonstrators protesting against the killing.

The source of tensions in Atlanta is White police chief John Inman's refusal to quit his post as ordered by Black mayor Maynard Jackson. Inman has a long history of charges of racism in his management of the Atlanta police department that include corruption, bribery and other illegal activity. He refuses to leave his post, has demoted police on the force that don't support his position and has defied city subpoenas.

The confrontation threatens to tear Atlanta apart. It is a situation in which any provocation could ignite mass violence if cool heads and determined minds do not prevail. Was the murder of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., such a provocation? □



MARCUS WAYNE CHENAULT

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

JULY 10, 1775

In a move that was rescinded within six months, Horatio Gates, George Washington's Adjutant General, issued a general order banning Black soldiers from the American Army, on July 10, 1775. Prior to this order, patriotic Black Minutemen had served with distinction in the initial battles at Lexington and Concord, had participated in the capture of Ft. Ticonderoga and were honored following the Battle of Bunker Hill. In addition, Crispus Attucks, a Black man, was the first colonial citizen killed in the Boston Massacre and is generally regarded as the first martyr of the American Revolution.

JULY 13, 1787

On July 13, 1787, the fledgling Continental Congress banned slavery from the Northwest Territory.

JULY 10, 1875

Famed Black educator and powerful Black women's rights figure Mary McLeod Bethune was born on July 10, 1875.

JULY 9, 1893

A Black physician, Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, successfully performed the world's first heart operation at Provident Hospital in Chicago on July 9, 1893.

JULY 11-13, 1905

In an historic conference organized by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and William Monroe Trotter in Niagara, New York, on July 11-13, 1905, a distinguished group of Black leaders and intellectuals, the "Niagara Movement," assailed the ears of America with a critically new and spirited militant Black protest mood. The new Black movement was equally critical of the meek, conciliatory attitude of men like Booker T. Washington, totally rejecting the role of second-class citizenship.

JULY 10, 1962

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was arrested in Albany, Georgia, immediately after initiating an antisegregation campaign, on July 10, 1962. By August 1 of that year, over 1,000 demonstrators had been arrested.

WESLEY ROBERT WELLS SAYS "POWER OF THE PEOPLE" FREED HIM

CHARLES GARRY DUBS HIM "THE ORIGINAL PANTHER"

(Vacaville, Calif.) - Lauded, applauded and described as the "original Black Panther," Brother Wesley Robert Wells, 65, was released from the California Medical Facility, Vacaville, last week after spending 47 years behind bars in California prisons, longer than any other human.

One of his first remarks to the gathering of about 50 supporters, friends and reporters in front of Vacaville was that he was set free by "the Power of the People, which I am deeply grateful for." Walking with the aid of a cane, Brother Wells stopped to speak briefly with the group.

"I am the same man that walked in the prison, walking out," he said spiritedly, "only I'm a little older. Now let me qualify that," he continued, "I'm older, more wise and better self-controlled. But the spirit, I still have the spirit, and will have it until they put me in the ground.

"That's what has been keeping me in here so long. They want my spirit. They couldn't want anything else. They have everything else from me. What else could they want?"

When asked if he ever thought he might really be released, he said, "I thought there was a chance. A man cannot live without hope. And I was hoping—and I'm still striving."

Brother Wells was flanked by his two attorneys and long-time friends, Charles R. Garry and Leo Branton, Jr., who have been with him since 1947 and 1953 respectively.

As Brother Wells rode away from the prison in a silver, chauffeur-driven Rolls Royce, rented specially for the occasion, a hearty round of applause went up. Upon arriving at the Delancy Street Foundation in San Francisco, Brother Wells' new home, he was greeted by an enthusiastic throng of friends. Delancy Street is a progressive service organization composed primarily of ex-prisoners and ex-drug addicts.

Brother Wells asked THE BLACK PANTHER to convey his appreciation to San Francisco Assemblyman Willie Brown, Jr. "I wrote him a letter hoping to express my deep appreciation for the help that he and other political individuals rendered," said Brother Wells, "but I cannot put into words my sense of appreciation and gratitude to Willie Brown for helping to make this day possible for me."

Brother Wells first went ot prison in 1927 for allegedly receiving stolen goods. While serving this term in San Quentin Prison, he was involved in a fight in which an inmate was killed trying to defend him. For this


Brother BOB WELLS talking to newsmen on his release from Vacaville prison.

Brother Wells was wrongly convicted of manslaughter. After serving a 10-year sentence, he remained out of prison for eight months during World War II.

He was imprisoned again in 1941, this time for the ridiculous "crime" of exchanging car batteries, for which he had been incarcerated ever since. His life sentence without the possibility of parole (which he received for throwing a spittoon at a guard who was harassing him in 1947) was ruled un-Constitutional by the California Supreme Court recently. This ruling combined with the mass drive of a number of organizations and people contributed to winning his release.

It was the noted revolutionary trial lawyer, Charles Garry, who, speaking to reporters outside Vacaville Prison, recalled, "I always said that Bob Wells was the original Black Panther...He had that thrust, he had that dignity, he had that respect. Now he is a broken-down man physically, but his integrity and his spirit are still there.

"If I was to say who was the most interesting man I ever met, I would say Bob Wells," continued Garry. "Bob Wells, under all kinds of stress, never lost his image. He was a man who was a leader among human beings. Even when he was about to be executed in the gas chamber, he was telling the guards, 'you're not following the rules'...

"His word was his bond. He wouldn't lie to save his life, and that was the history that he had in prison—being a man of tremendous integrity, and tremendous honesty...

"The history of Bob Wells is the history of the American prison system...There isn't a part of his body that doesn't have large keloid knife scars that were put there by men who thought

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SEATTLE B.P.P. HOSTS FATHER'S DAY DINNER

(Seattle, Wash.) - "Community people enjoying themselves in an atmosphere of love and struggle"—such were the words spoken by one community person in describing the Free Father's Day Community Dinner held June 16 at the Black Panther Party-sponsored Sidney Miller Free Medical Clinic here. Clinic workers prepared a delicious dinner of bar-b-que chicken and ribs, fried chicken, potato salad, baked beans, corn bread, sweet potato pie, and many other dishes for the over 500 people who attended the festive event.


The violence and repression of U.S. prisons has forced many inmates to physically protest against their treatment.

FOUR OF MARYLAND PEN FIVE FRAMED — GET 101 YEARS

(Baltimore, Md.) - On June 6, 1974, four of the Maryland Pen Five, Robert Foulks, Clifton Wiggins, Robert Austin and Black Panther Party member Eddie Conway, were given sentences of 18, 38, 15, and 30 years respectively. The case stems from the stabbing of a guard July 12, 1973. Although there were 75 to 100 prisoners in the area of the incident the Five were chosen as examples and for retaliation because of their organizing work within the penitentiary.

The state created a series of circumstances in order to discredit the Five and obtain a conviction. But this wasn't done until after the Five were tortured for hours and subsequently filed a $17 million suit. First, they were sentenced to prison isolation by the Adjustment Team with sentences ranging from two and a half to five years while recuperating from lacerations, broken bones and dislocated joints. Then, they were sent to the infamous Patuxent Mental Institution for so-called "defective delinquents."

From this point on up to the end of the trial the state applied coercion, intimidation, and proposition to other prisoners. It finally came up with 40 guards and one prisoner as witnesses.

The prisoner witness, Northfleet Sawyer, was placed on protective custody under guard of those same officers who are defendants in the $17 million suit. Sawyer was never in the area

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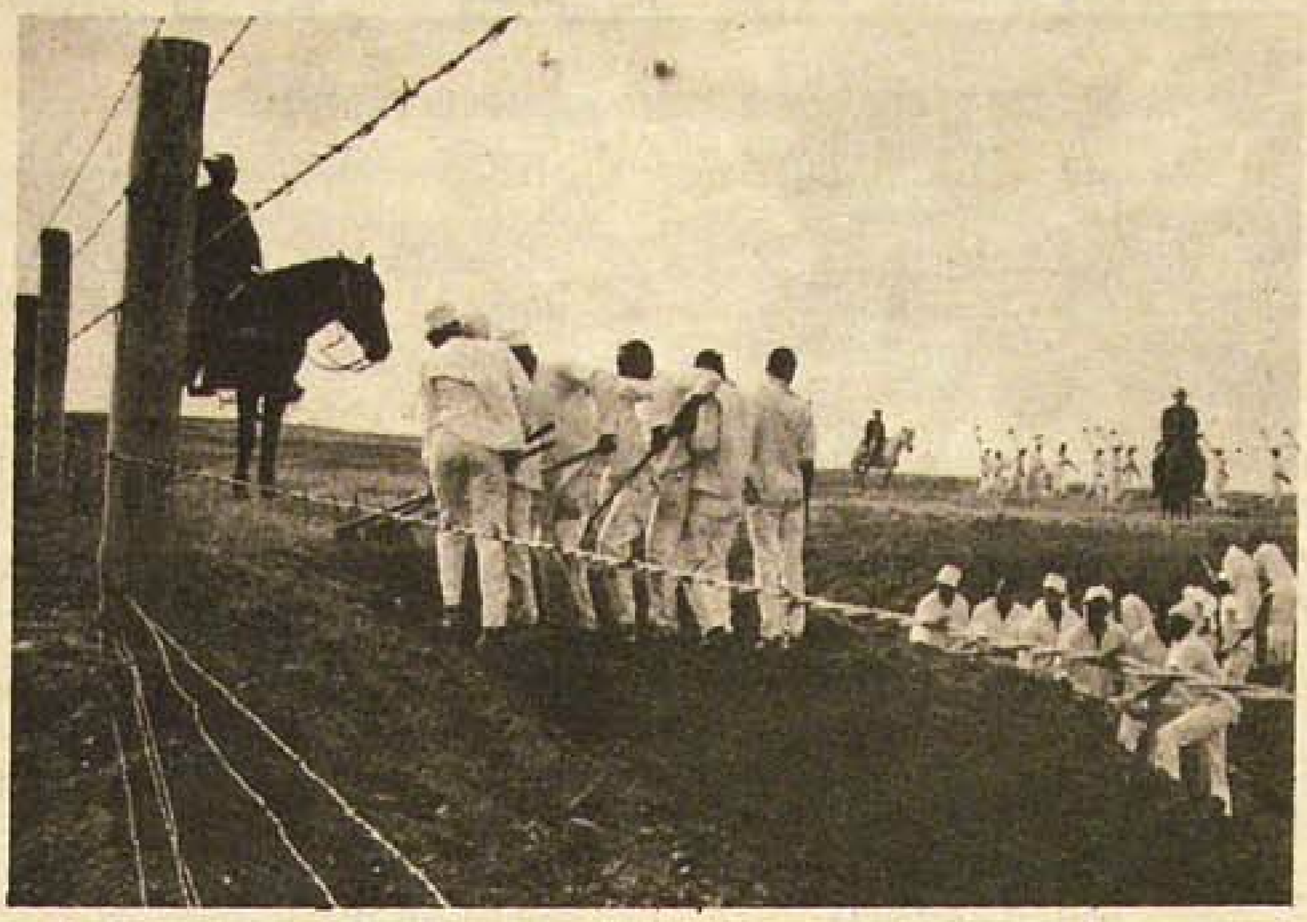
11 ATMORE, HOLMAN PRISON INMATES WIN TRIAL POSTPONEMENT

SUPPORTERS JAM COURTROOM

(Mobile, Ala.) - Eleven Black inmates of Atmore and Holman Prisons won a temporary victory June 11, as carloads of supporters jammed into the Brewton, Alabama, courtroom in which the brothers were on trial on frame-up murder charges arising out of their prison organizing activities.

Upon learning of the mass of courtroom supporters, the Alabama attorney general, who had declared he would come to Brewton to personally mastermind the prosecution, decided not to come, and the judge called off the trial until September or October. The delay provides time for building a defense movement for the brothers, all members of Inmates for Action (IFA), according to information provided by Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee.

According to the information, a small number of observers began attending the brothers' arraignments in May, and then the courthouse started receiving phone calls concerning trial dates, courtroom capacity, etc. Eventually legal workers began arriving at the prisons to see the brothers about their cases.



Southern prison farm inmates in the fields, overshadowed by armed guards on horseback. Prisoners receive little or no pay.

On the morning of June 11, when the first trial was scheduled to start, carloads of supporters rolled into town. Soon afterwards the jurors were given their checks for jury duty and sent home before noon without doing "a lick of work."

The brothers' charges resulted from a peaceful sitdown strike led by IFA at Atmore prison farm. In retaliation, after the strike, guards murdered Brothers George Dobbins (Chagina), chairman of the IFA at Atmore, and Tommy Lee Dotson (Yukeena), an IFA leader at the nearby Holman maximum security prison.

The case of the eleven brothers arose out of the strike. "Their crime is this," said their Defense Committee, "they organized the IFA and refused to submit weakly to the physically brutal and mentally poisonous conditions in the prisons..."

Brewton, site of the trial, is an isolated Alabama town and the county seat of Escambia, the last county in the country to officially free its slaves.

One of the eleven brothers, Johnny Harris, faces a death sentence if found guilty. The others face possible life terms. They are Anthony Paradise, Lincoln Heard, Grover McCorvey, Oscar Lee Johnson, George Parker, Charles Beasley and Johnny Lee Wilson.

All the brothers face the possibility of being murdered as a result of being on the "death list." There have been past reports of a death list circulated throughout Atmore and Holman Prisons by guards. IFA leaders were named on the death list before their murders.□

ROBERT WELLS

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

they would get an advantage from the prison parole system if they were to kill him.

"You just can't talk about Bob Wells without understanding what's happening in the prison system in America...The story of the indeterminate sentence is the story of Bob Wells...

"When I looked into his case, he was demonstrated to me as a wild animal. But when I saw Bob Wells for the first time, on Death Row, I got the surprise of my life. I met for the first time in my life a human being who had dignity, who made sense, who talked rationally, who talked about the future, although he was scheduled to die inside a few months. I got 18 invitations (notices) to his execution..."□



Rolls Royce taking Brother BOB WELLS away from 47 years of unjust imprisonment.

HAITIAN REFUGEES SEEK EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING IN PHILADELPHIA

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - Employment and housing are currently being sought in the Philadelphia area for a group of Haitian refugees who otherwise will be sent back to their homeland, where they face certain death. A group of six to 10 Haitians, from a refugee camp in Miami, Florida, were brought to Philadelphia on July 1, in an attempt to save their lives, reports the *Philadelphia Tribune*.

"There are so many refugees in Miami that we can't possibly find housing and jobs for all of them," explained Richard Montgomery, coordinator for the Haitian Refugee Information Center in Miami. "What people should keep in mind is that this is literally a matter of life and death. If we can get housing and jobs for them, the State Department is less likely to send them back home, where they would almost certainly be executed."

There are at present 821 Haitian refugees in Miami, 121 of whom are being held in jail for "illegal entry." The U.S. State Department has said they will all be sent back to Haiti.

The group left Haiti in small boats because of the almost Nazi-like oppression there. At least another 400 persons, and possibly as many as 1,000, have drowned in the attempt to get to the U.S.

The Haitian government, which rules over five million Blacks, is headed by Jean Claude Duvalier, who at the age of 19 was appointed "dictator for life" by his father. He maintains control of the people by terrorist tactics. Press censorship is absolute, and anyone who expresses opposition to his rule is arrested by the Army and secret police, tortured and often executed without trial.

The refugees who have come to the U.S. feel strongly that if they are deported, not only they but their families will be wiped out as well. Nineteen recent suicides (18 in the Bahamas, one in Miami) to avoid deportation illustrate how deeply these feelings are rooted.

To understand these feelings one has only to read the following letter, by Jesse Deville Turenne, three days before he committed suicide by hanging in the Dade County Stockade:

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FOUR LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS MURDER CHARGES DROPPED

(Kansas City, Mo.) - Murder charges against four Black prisoners at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary were ordered dismissed due to lack of evidence by U.S. District Judge Frank Theis in Wichita on June 21.

The four men, Alf Hill, Alfred Jasper, Odell Bennett and Jessie Lee Evans, are part of a group of six prisoners called the "Leavenworth Brothers." All six men had been indicted on charges stemming from a revolt which took place at the prison on July 31, 1973.

At a news conference held June 29, at the Kansas City office of The Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee (LBO/DC), Arthur Bronson, a spokesman for the group said, "The dismissal of these charges is further proof that the government has no case and is attempting to frame these men."

Bronson also stated that Judge Theis has ordered all the "Leavenworth Brothers" moved to the Sedgewick County Jail in Wichita, Kansas, in the next two weeks, "because the Constitutional rights of the men were being systematically violated."

Earlier, in the aftermath of the alleged suicide of the only White Leavenworth Brother, William Hurst, the remaining Leavenworth Brothers and their attorneys had charged the U.S. Bureau of Prisons and the Justice Department "with directly attempting to subvert the human and legal rights of the Brothers" and demanded to be moved to a county jail. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for details on the Hurst case.)

In a recent press statement, Ed Haase, chairperson of the LBO/DC said, "As we are attempting to obtain a fair trial for the Leavenworth Brothers, the prison officials in conjunction with the U.S. Department of Justice, are attempting to disrupt, dissuade, and destroy our efforts.

"Guards have threatened the lives of the Brothers. They have been told their food has been poisoned and have found razor blades in it. The Brothers are more concerned with what is happening to them now than what can happen to them in court."

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10,000 RALLY AGAINST RACIST AND POLITICAL REPRESSION

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST IN MEMORY OF MRS. MARTIN L. KING, SR.

(Raleigh, N.C.) Ten thousand demonstrators from all over the country rallied here July 4, demanding an end to racism and political repression, particularly in North Carolina, labeled by protestors as the "most repressive state in the nation."

The protest march and rally, dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., was organized by the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. The predominantly Black mass of protestors swarmed into Raleigh from several states for the tightly organized demonstration.

The marchers, who included Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Chicanos, Asians and Whites, filled the streets with angry protest songs and forceful speeches. They charged that North Carolina is being used by local, state and federal governments as a testing ground for widespread political repression.



At least 10,000 demonstrators from across the country traveled to Raleigh, North Carolina, on July 4 to demand an end to racism and political repression in the state. Among those who addressed the crowd were Angela Davis, Rev. Ben Chavis, and Larry Little, coordinator of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

Speakers at the rally cited as proof of their allegations that North Carolina has the country's largest death row population (45 of the national total of 123), that the state maintains 76 prisons and 91 jails, that North Carolina has a high number of political prisoners and that the New Federal Correctional Center at Butner, N.C., will subject inmates to inhumane behavior-modification techniques.

The demonstration began with a rally at Raleigh's Memorial Auditorium where speakers included representatives of the American Indian Movement, the Puerto Rican liberation movement, the progressive White movement, and Clarence Lightner, the newly elected Black mayor of Raleigh.

Larry Little, coordinator of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Chapter of the Black Panther Party, delivered a welcoming address in behalf of the people of North Carolina. Brother Little described the might and power displayed by the masses at the rally as "the true bastion of iron." With fierce emotion he spoke of the June, 1972, death of Black Panther Party member Joseph Waddell, killed at Central prison in Raleigh by authorities who later claimed the strong, 21-year-old had died of a heart attack.

While complimenting the enthusaistic crowd for its steadfast attendance despite the heavy summer heat, Little warned that their rallying would be in vain "if we go back to our communities and do nothing.

"Although we understand that North Carolina is the capital of racism and political repression," he said, "we must understand the interconnection of our work and the struggles of all oppressed people." Brother Little then issued a call for unity of all organizations and segments of the oppressed community, a unity overcoming racial differences and ideological contradictions.

The protestors then marched in broad, 10-man ranks down Fayetteville Street, shouting, "KKK, get out of the way!!" in response

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CALIFORNIA POLICE TERRORIZE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA VOLUNTEERS

(Sunnyvale, Calif.) - A short stop to get directions at a gas station here turned into a 15 minute encounter with terror and police madness for five Son of Man Temple Sickle Cell Anemia volunteers last week.

The five—Brothers Allen Lewis, Donald Cunningham, and Amar Casey and Sisters Lulla Hudson and Tommye Williams—were on their way down the peninsula having volunteered their time to collect donations for the Son of Man Temple's Sickle Cell Anemia research, testing and counseling programs, conducted at the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinic in Berkeley.

When they got to the corner of Homestead and Holenbach Streets, they stopped at a gas station to get directions and Brother Allen Lewis got out of the car. The next thing Sister Lulla Hudson knew, Brother Allen was stretched out over the front of a Sunnyvale police car with a 9mm pistol being held to his head. The car was surrounded by policemen as well, guns drawn and triggers cocked.

8 POLICE CARS

In all, seven Sunnyvale police cars and one from the Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department, totaling 15 policemen or more, harassed and intimidated the five volunteers. They openly brandished .45s, 9mms, shotguns, .44 magnums and other weaponry.

One by one, the remaining four persons were removed from the car, and the car was searched. Spreadeagled on the ground, all were degradingly searched (one cop grabbing a sister in the

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N.C. RALLY

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to an ineffective counter-protest staged by less than 40 members of several right-wing, White extremist groups including the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party and the Rights of White People, a local group of militant-mouthing right-wingers.

The marchers moved toward the state capitol building in defiance of a scorching sun, fervently singing militant and spiritual protest songs.

Speaking at the rally, which was held in front of the state capitol, were Angela Davis, co-chairwoman of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rev. Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice and also a North Carolina political prisoner presently appealing a conviction on false rioting charges; and Native American Chief Howard Brooks of Lumberton, N.C.

After the rally at the capitol, the marchers filed past the gates of North Carolina's notorious Central Prison, where the protestors' militant chanting was answered by a sustained chorus of welcoming whistles and cheers from inmates who made themselves heard even through the heavily guarded prison walls.

The protest action ended at Pullen Memorial Park, where there were more speakers, including Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement, then entertainment and a hearty picnic.

Protest organizers said that the rally would relight the fires of the 1960s' Civil Rights Movement. They expressed the goal of using the demonstration to organize a new popular front of the political left, the primary objective of the Alliance. The massive turnout last week is a good start.

However, many massive demonstrations have been held and accomplished little more than temporarily frightening the local power structure. The real test of the demonstration's success will be the sustained program resulting from whatever concrete organizational efforts were made.□



Leavenworth Brothers (left to right) ARMONDO MIRAMON, JESSE LEE EVANS, ALF HILL, ODELL BENNETT, JESSE LOPEZ and ALFRED (JAZZ) JASPER, with guards.

LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS

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Haase then went on to say that Leavenworth Prison officials have tampered with attorney-client mail of the Brothers, and that Warden Loron E. Daggett has "harassed, threatened and assaulted" the LBO/DC lawyers.

On June 6, Haase explained, the LBO/DC legal coordinator, Dave Brown, went to Leavenworth Penitentiary with other attorneys and legal researchers to interview the Brothers. When Brown went to ask Daggett's permission for Brother Odell Bennett to take a shower prior to his interview, Daggett, Haase said, "became outraged and told Brown 'get your Black ass out of my office!'

Continuing, Haase said Daggett "made several threatening gestures toward Brown...and then lunged at Brown with his fist. However, Michael Quinlin, legal counsel at the prison, stepped between Daggett and Brown and prevented an actual battery."

The Brothers' confinement at Leavenworth has created a mentally and physically impossible situation for them, and they emphasized this point in a post card campaign to U.S. District Judge Frank Theis in Wichita, Kansas.

Meanwhile, the LBO/DC has finalized its legal team. Its members iclude: Dave Brown, team coordinator and a member of the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL); Jane Fox, of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), who was one of the attorneys for Eddie Sanchez (his case resulted in the discontinuation of the START behavior-modification program); Chester Lewis, an NLG member from Wichita; Lee Mandell, a Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, lawyer; Albert Riodoror, a Kansas City NLG member; and Roger Wall, also of the NLG.

Howard Moore of Berkeley, California, who was chief counsel of the Angela Davis defense team, and Antonio Rodriguez, a Los Angeles attorney and member of the Mexican-American legal Defense Committee, will serve in an advisory legal status.

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CALIFORNIA POLICE TERRORIZE VOLUNTEERS

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crotch), and the brothers had feet or knees put into their back.

All during this time, the police gave no explanation for their unwarrented and intimidating actions.

After 15 minutes ("it felt like two hours"), the police backed off. A Lt. Day from the Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department provided weak "justification," telling the group "we know we have endangered your lives...but you know we have to protect our homes and our families."

He explained that "someone" had alerted the police about a group of Blacks driving a "Riveria armed with shotguns, AR-15s and handguns." The volunteers were driving an Oldsmobile.

Contacted by THE BLACK PANTHER after the incident, a legal advisor for the five volunteers said that "if the police had 'just cause,' they're going to have to prove it."□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

"MENTAL PLUMBERS"

(Detroit, Mich.) - Speaking recently to 500 Black psychiatrists here, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young said he considers it normal for oppressed people to rise up and strike back and that he does not want a racist society with Nixon in the White House using psychiatric tools to change behavior patterns. Calling psychiatrists "mental plumbers," Young urged them to fight racism "because racism will destroy America."

SHEA 2nd INDICTED COP

(New York, N.Y.) - Thomas J. Shea, the recently acquitted murderer of a 10-year-old Black youth here, was not the first New York City cop indicted for a murder "in the line of duty," as was reported during his trial. He was the second. A letter to *The New York Times* from James B.M. McNally, a retired justice of the Appellate Division, recalls the case of Robert F. McAllister, who was tried for murder in the killing of a Black suspect in 1924 and found not guilty. McNally went on to become a deputy police inspector.

PROBE BEATING OF BLACK TEACHERS

(Newark, N.J.) - The 78,000-member New Jersey Education Association (NJEA) has called for a state investigation into "a reign of terror" which has brought about the beatings and resignations of two Black teachers from a predominately White suburban high school here. One of the teachers, Mrs. Ruth Baskerville, has been shoved down a flight of stairs, beaten repeatedly with a hammer and dumped on the street by unknown assailants. The Bloomfield Board of Education has received letters from anonymous sources taking credit for the attacks and boasting "we shall cleanse our communities one at a time of these inferiors."

FEW BLACKS ELECTED

(Detroit, Mich.) - Blacks constitute 11.1 per cent of the population, yet only one-half of one per cent of the country's 522,000 elected officials are Black, reports the Joint Center for Political Studies. Michigan leads the U.S., with 194 Black elected officials, and is followed by Mississippi with 191 and New York with 174.

A.I.M. MEMBERS CONVICTED

(Sioux Falls, S.D.) - The all-White jury in the trial of three American Indian Movement (AIM) members on charges stemming from demonstrations in Custer, South Dakota, returned a verdict of guilty after 14 hours of deliberation on June 20.

This was the first of several trials coming out of the Custer protests. In February, 1973, Indians demonstrated after Wesley Bad Heart Bull was killed by a White man. The man was then charged only with second degree manslaughter instead of first degree murder.

According to information from *Liberation News Service*, the three defendants, Robert High Eagle, Kenneth Dahl and Sarah Bad Heart Bull, were charged with arson where riot was committed. Sarah Bad Heart Bull, is Wesley's mother. The trial of 16 others charged in the Custer protests will begin soon in Lincoln, Nebraska.

POLICE ATTACK

The first Custer trial began in mid-April. On April 30, during the jury selection process, Judge Joseph Bottum ordered 25 tactical police with riot equipment to clear the courtroom after defendants and spectators —14 Indian men — refused to rise when he entered the courtroom. The police locked the doors and attacked with clubs and mace, injuring at least three people so badly that they had to be hospitalized.

A crowd of angry supporters gathered outside the Minihaha courthouse during the police attack and were eventually dispersed with tear gas. Thirteen have already been arrested in connection with the incident. The preliminary hearing on riot charges will take place June 24.

The trial resumed May 14 in a small, makeshift courtroom three miles outside of town in the Sioux Falls Civil Defense Building. Spectators other than the immediate families of the defendants and press were not allowed in, uniformed police were stationed around the building and marshals guarded all doors inside.

As the defendants and spectators filed out of the courtroom after the verdict, the government arrested Robert High Eagle, charging him with rioting in the protests outside the Minihaha courthouse on April 30. He was released on a $2,000 bond.



An Indian girl whose future is bleak in racist America.

The conviction of Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Robert High Eagle and Kenneth Dahl were the first the government has managed to obtain in its prosecution of Indian activists for the events at Custer and Wounded Knee. Three women were acquitted on May 28 for lack of evidence against them. On February 11, the government dropped charges against four people charged with burglary and larceny of the Wounded Knee trading post, and in another case, Judge Urbom granted a defense motion to suppress illegally obtained evidence against two other Native Americans.

Defense attorneys intend to file for a new trial at the sentencing July 22. They will appeal the verdict against the three on the grounds that errors were committed by Judge Bottum during the trial which could force a reversal of the verdict.□

16-YEAR-OLD CHINESE YOUTH SENTENCED AS ADULT

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - The Chinese community here is conducting a citywide campaign to overturn the murder conviction of a 16-year-old Chinese youth who was outrageously tried as an adult.

(A recent Supreme Court decision reversed the previous requirement that federal judges provide a reason for sentencing a minor as an adult.)

Chi Ko Wong, who has lived in the U.S. for less than six years, was recently convicted for the December 30, 1973, robbery-murder of James Fang, a waiter at the Twin Dragon Restaurant. On that date two youths allegedly entered the restaurant with a gun and took $150 from the cash register. Fan apparently mistook the gun for a toy and chased the robbers. He was subsequently shot and killed outside the restaurant.

Wong and B. Lin were charged with the robbery and murder, but Lin was later released. Wong was convicted on three counts of robbery and murder.

Wong was tried and covicted by the racist Los Angeles press



16-year-old CHI KO WONG.

long before the equally racist jury reached its verdict. A major newspaper headline in Los Angeles recently read, "Killer At 16." Most people in the Chinese and Asian communities believe Wong's trial and sentencing was prejudicial and extremely harsh.

It is customary for persons less than 18-years-old to be sentenced to the custody of the California Youth Authority. The judge in Wong's case tried to justify the youth's harsh sentence by saying that there was "the possibility (that)...Wong might influence and infest other pliable youngsters in the custody of the Youth Authority." The ridiculousness of the judge's ruling is that Chi Ko will suffer far more by going to prison with adult men where oppressive conditions, forced homosexuality and human isolation will undoubtedly take their toll on the young boy.

Concerned members of the Chinese community and several Asian organizations and individuals held a press conference on May 17, charging that racism was prevalent throughout Chi Ko's trial and in the aftermath of the sentencing. California Attorney General Evelle Younger issued a vicious report on the Chinese community's alleged association with the "Chinese Mafia," which served to inflame Wong's case and arouse feeling against the Chinese community.

Meanwhile, the people now working on Chi Ko Wong's defense have indicated that flimsy evidence and contradictory statements made by both the prosecuting and defense witnesses dominated the trial. Four defense witnesses, including an owner and waiter of a downtown Chinese restaurant, testified that Chi Ko was eating dinner at their restaurant at the same time the murder allegedly occured.

(We wish to thank the San Francisco publication, *Chinese Awareness* for the information contained in this article.)□

DELLUMS' CORNER

ON SUPPORT OF CHILDREN'S TV SERIES

(Washington, D.C.) - Continued federal government support of a new Spanish-English children's television program, produced in Oakland, California, has been called for by U.S. Rep. Ronald V. Dellums.

The California congressman, in a letter to Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Caspar B. Weinberger, described the program, called *Villa Alegre*, as a "milestone in bilingual children's programming" and asked HEW to give it full support.

Villa Alegre will premiere this fall on public television, including northern California stations, and will air on commercial channels in areas not served by public television. The series is produced by Bilingual Children's Television, Inc., of Oakland.

Dr. Rene Cardenas, director of the series, was in Washington recently to present the program to members of Congress. He said the series is aimed at children from ages four to eight and is designed to benefit the Spanish-speaking child by showing him his language and culture in a positive vein and the non-Spanish-speaking child by exposing him to a language and culture different from his own.

The program's first 65 presentations will cost $5 million to produce according to Dr. Cardenas. The U.S. Office of Education has provided a $3.5 million grant and the Ford Foundation and the Exxon USA Foundation made up the balance. Cardenas said his organization has asked for another $3.5 million grant to continue.

"This series is a tremendous achievement," Dellums said. "Everyone I have talked to agrees—including teachers and broadcasters who have seen samples of the program." He urged the full support of HEW and Weinberger in refunding *Villa Alegre*.

"THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS"

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The "new" Black middle class has been seen recently in prime time on a CBS News documentary; it has adorned the cover of *The New York Times Magazine* and it has been the subject of a *Time* cover story. But its much ballyhooed emergence is more representative of wishful thinking than of reality. And important as it is for the dedication and hard work of countless Black families finally to receive recognition, the image being pushed so hard may be counterproductive in the long run.

The fact is that the Black middle class of 1974, like that of earlier years, is a minority within the Black community. In 1974, as in 1964, 1954 and in the decades stretching into the distant past, the social and economic reality of the majority of Black people has been poverty and marginal status in the wings of our society.

The Black middle class traditionally included a handful of professionals and a far larger number of working people who, had they been White, would be solidly "working class." The inclusion of Pullman porters, post-office clerks and other typical members of the old Black middle class was due less to their incomes—which were well below those of Whites—than to their relative immunity from the hazards of marginal employment that dogged most Blacks. They were "middle class" relative to other Black people, not to the society at large.

Despite all the publicity, despite all the photos of yacht-club cocktail parties, that is where the so-called Black middle class stands today. The CBS broadcast included a handyman and a postal worker. Had they been White they would be considered working class, but since they were Black and defied media-fostered stereotypes, they were given the middle-class label.

Well, is it true that the Black community is edging into the middle class? Let's look at income, the handiest guide and certainly the most generally agreed-upon measurement. What income level amounts to middle-class status? Median family income is often used, since that places a family at the exact midpoint in our society. In 1972 the median family income of White's amounted to $11,549, but Black median family income was a mere $6,864.

That won't work. Let's use another guide. The Bureau of Labor Statistics says it takes an urban family of four $12,600 to maintain an "intermediate" living standard. Using that measure, the average Black family not only is *not* middle class, but it earns far less than the "lower, non-poverty" level of $8,200. Four out of five Black families earn less than the "intermediate" standard.

What about collar color? Occupational status is often considered a guide to middle-class status, and this is an area in which Black have made tremendous gains, breaking into occupations unheard of for non-Whites only a decade ago. When you look at the official occupation charts, there is a double space to separate higher-status from lower-status jobs such as laborer, operative and service worker. That gap is more than a typographical device. It is an indicator of racial separation as well, for the majority of working Whites hold jobs above that line, while the majority of Blacks are still confined to the low-pay, low-status jobs below it. At the top of the job pinnacle, in the elite categories of the professions and business, the disparity is most glaring, with one out of four Whites in such middle-class jobs in contrast to every tenth Black worker.

Yes, there are Black doctors, dentists and lawyers, but let no one be fooled into thinking they are typical — these professions include only two per cent Blacks. Yes, there are Black families that are stable, who work, often at more than one job, and who own cars and homes. And yes, they are representative of the masses of Black people who work the longest hours at the hardest jobs for the least pay in order to put some meat on the table and clothes on their backs. This should be emphasized in every way possible in order to remind this forgetting nation that there is a dimension of Black reality that has never been given its due.



Elderly Black woman, above, is an example of the masses of Black people in America who still remain in poverty and who will never earn enough to be considered "Black middle class."

But this should not blind us to the realization that even with such superhuman efforts, the vast majority of Blacks are still far from middle-class status. Let us not forget that the gains won are tenuous ones, easily shaken from our grasp by an energy crisis, a recession, rampant inflation or nonenforcement of hard-won civil rights laws.

And never let us fall victim to the illusion that the limited gains so bitterly wrenched from an unwilling nation have materially changed the conditions of life for the overwhelming majority of Black people—conditions still typified by discrimination, economic insecurity and general living conditions inferior to those enjoyed by the majority of our White fellow citizens.☐

S.F. PROBATION DEPT. SUED

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A class action suit filed here this week by three individuals charged the city's Adult Probation Department and the Civil Service Commission of racial and national origin discrimination in hiring and promotion practices. The suit charged that "out of the 68 permanent adult probation officers employed by the Department, only 11 (11 per cent of the total number) are Spanish, Black, Asian-surnamed or members of other minority groups."☐

"ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE DEFECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY"

BY HUEY P. NEWTON



Brothers BOBBY SEALE (left) and HUEY P. NEWTON founded the Black Panther Party in 1966 in order to demonstrate to Oakland's poor, Black community how to defend itself against police repression and also to serve the community.

PART3

The following excerpt, Part 3 of this brilliant essay, pinpoints one of Brother Huey P. Newton's major concerns: developing the understanding that revolution is a process, that there are no final or absolute answers. Brother Huey continues his discussion of the development of the Party's 10-Point Platform and Program, and the relation of that program in practice to the party's efforts in serving the needs of the oppressed community.

However, in this excerpt Huey makes the statement, "We [the Party] will never run for political office...," a comment seemingly contradicted two years later when Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown ran for the electoral positions of Mayor and City Councilwoman in Oakland. What could not be forseen in the Spring of 1971 [the essay first appeared in the April 17, 1971, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER] occured as an historic people's victory in 1973.

I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of *Ramparts* magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as *the* Revolution and *the* Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process, and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards and community police or something like this. This is why we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way *they* would get salvation is through *their* control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

OPPRESSIVE CONDITIONS

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campagn workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

PERSONAL PROBLEMS

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of *Ramparts*. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This move was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are nonrevolutionary.

TO BE CONTINUED

EX- MEMBERS OF OAKLAND COMMISSION ON SCHOOL SAFETY PROTEST TREATMENT

(Oakland, Calif.) - The 10 community organizations that resigned and walked out of the Commission on School Safety here two weeks ago have sent off two fiery letters, one to the local newspaper and the other to the Commission chairman, in angry protest over their treatment since that move.

In addition, the groups, including the Black Panther Party, have announced that they are meeting together weekly in a concerted effort to develop a constructive and viable minority report with recommendations reflecting true community solutions to the problems racking this city's schools.



Students (above) at Oakland's model school, the Intercommunal Youth Institute, have been fortunate enough to escape the racism of the city's schools.

The growing concern of many Oakland residents and community groups about the school system is well justified. Just last Friday an article in the *Oakland Tribune* revealed that on the basis of tests taken by six grades of Oakland public school children in 1972-73, their reading, math and written language skills are "subpar" when compared with statewide scores.

The report states that the results reflect "the acute needs of many students in Oakland schools in the basic skills..." Thirty-seven per cent of the students in the district's elementary schools are also said to be reading one or more years below grade level and over one-half are said to be "educationally disadvantaged."

One of the two community groups' letters was sent to Laurence D. Bolling, a Black Republican selected by the Oakland School Board as chairman for the Commission. The week after the resignation/walk out Bolling sent a deceptive letter to each of the community representatives "commending you for your contribution in helping to formulate committee recommendations."

The community groups' letter painstakingly restated their mutual feelings of "frustration" and "being used" and rejected any attempt to link them with recommendations made by the Board-sanctioned Commission.

In their second letter, the groups sent off a scathing criticism of "the biased, selective, nonobjective and distorted reporting and coverage of events surrounding the Commission by the *Oakland Tribune*." What specifically incurred the groups' wrath was the fact that the *Tribune* waited for almost one week before reporting on the resignation/walk out, and when it did, the coverage was selective and incomplete.

DRAFTING REPORT

The groups—the Ad Hoc Committee for the Selection of a Superintendent of Schools, Coalition to Save Our Schools, East Bay Asians for Community Action, Peralta Concerned Parents, American Federation of Teachers, Metropolitan Unified Ministerial Council, Thresholds, Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, Westlake students and the Black Panther Party—say they are in the preliminary stages of drafting their report and that they are making good headway.

All concerned Oakland residents, whether they have children attending school or not, are urged to write up their recommendations for alleviating school turmoil and achieveing quality education and send them to:

Community Groups, c/o Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street, Oakland 94621.□

"HOMAGE TO GEORGE"

By Russell Baker

COLUMNIST ATTACKS HYPOCRISY OF 4TH OF JULY CELEBRATION

"It is time to close the book on the 4th of July," writes Russell Baker, one of the wittiest and most insightful of comtemporary political satirists, in his weekly column in the Sunday, June 30 issue of the New York Times. *The following is a reprint of Mr. Baker's column entitled "Homage to George," in which the author, with biting sarcasm, asserts that if America should continue to commemorate the historic revolutionary struggle proclaimed on July 4, 1776, "it would make more sense to treat it as a day for honoring King George III, whose principles we so roundly endorse."*

We are going to celebrate revolution again this week. It has become a curious rite, this annual 4th of July bow to bloody upheaval, for most of us are ill at ease with Washington, Adams and Jefferson, are only slightly less Tory than Lord North and pay huge tax bills each year to suppress revolutionary movements around the earth.

We are, in fact, much closer in sympathy to King George III than George Washington, who overthrew the Government by force and violence. This sympathy for the tyrannical party is quite natural. We are now the great world power that England was in 1776 and it is the destiny of great world powers to collaborate in the oppression of the unruly.

And so we give our sympathy and our money to dictators in Greece, Chile, Saigon, Spain and a dozen Latin states with generalissimos willing to maintain gun rule while freighting boodle to Swiss banks.

THE MONARCHY OF STRONG PRESIDENTS

At home, we yearn for the monarchy of strong Presidents and tolerate the incumbent's claim to privileges which King George himself would have been reluctant to assert.

Though some may be restive with Mr. Nixon's insistence that he is the law, most of us would be appalled by a proposal to revolt against him. We are quite comfortable with the ruin of Madison's separation of powers and probably concede, though perhaps a bit unhappily, that Caesarism in the White House



is preferable to the blundering of democracy in the Congress.

Large numbers of us sympathize with the Government's demand that the press confine itself to printing only what the Government wants known. Most of us are indifferent when some small rabble is jailed by the troops for expressing revolutionary sentiment at the doors of the Justice Department or the gates of a national convention.

We abide and even praise an economic order that makes the rich richer by bilking the middle class and keeping the poor impoverished. We



"Sounds super, sweetheart, but we're getting some distortion on the playback...Try working the desk mike a little harder...otherwise fat city."

C.I.A.'S WATERGATE KNOWLEDGE EXTENSIVE

(Washington, D.C.) - The Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) knowledge of the activities of some of the Watergate burglars was more extensive than the Agency has publicly acknowledged, according to a report by the Senate Watergate Committee's minority staff issued last week.

As reported in the *New York Times*, testimony and documents provided to the staff by CIA officials and summarized in the report indicate that Agency officials did not report to, and in one case tried to withhold from, Watergate investigators all they knew about the circumstances surrounding the break-in at the Democratic National Headquarters on June 17, 1972.

Five former CIA officials or "contract employees" were later convicted in that case and three of them have also admitted their participation in the burglary on September 3, 1971, of the California psychiatrist who had treated Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, once charged with leaking the Pentagon Papers.

The minority report, prepared at the request of Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., the Watergate Committee's vice chairman, also made several new disclosures that it said conflicted with last summer's public testimony before the Committee by Richard Helms, former director of Central Intelligence, and General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., his former deputy.

The report details an effort by CIA officials to keep from the FBI and the Watergate and other Congressional committees information about a visit after June 17, 1972, by a CIA employee to the home of James W. McCord, Jr., a former CIA security officer who, while an employee of the Nixon re-election committee, was among those arrested at the Watergate.

DOCUMENTS DESTROYED

The employee, Lee R. Pennington, Jr., entered McCord's residence "shortly after the Watergate break-in and destroyed documents which might show a link between McCord and the CIA," said the report.

Two months later, when the FBI agents asked about a "Mr. Pennington," the CIA response "was to furnish information about a former employee with a similar name...and to withhold the name of Lee R. Pennington, Jr."

The Agency's former director of security, believed to be Howard Osborne, tried in January of this year to withhold material on the Pennington visit from a CIA Watergate file about to be provided to the Watergate and other Congressional committees, according to the report.

"The Pennington matter," the report continues, apparently "was extremely sensitive...because Pennington may have been a 'domestic agent,' in violation of the CIA's charter." The CIA is prohibited by the National Security Act of 1947 from undertaking any law-enforcement or intelligence-gathering functions within the U.S.□

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uncomplainingly pay taxes to subsidize vast corporations, yet abuse the poor for shiftlessness.

We excuse our richest men and most powerful companies from taxation, and pay more taxes ourselves to compensate for the amounts not paid by the great.

We tolerate a legal system which most of us cannot afford to use because the rich and the powerful have priced us out of the market in their demands for its services. In consequence, we see the law's favors bestowed on the rich and the powerful and its scourge laid upon those who cannot afford to buy into it.

In short, like all good conservatives, we like things the way they are. Nothing is more likely to set the hair upright on the back of the national neck than a call for revolution. We are Tory to the core.

Why then must we go on with these annual tributes to the glory of revolution? George Washington, after all, is not a man we feel emotionally involved with. He is too remote, too severe.

His rigorous honesty is largely joke material these days, like his 11th-rate false teeth. How can we possibly feel anything in common with an honest politician, with a man who didn't even know about $5,000 dental caps? Who wore wigs and knee breeches?

And Jefferson, with that business about periodically refreshing the tree of liberty with the blood of patriots—ah, Jefferson. If you were alive today, talking like that, we would happily see you do hard time in Attica.

Unnatural effort is required to generate enthusiasm for the Revolution. It is already much more remote from us than the English Revolution was from George III by 1776. If Englishmen could go from revolutionaries to conservatives in slightly more than a hundred years, why should Americans not accept the fact that they have traveled from revolution to reaction in 200?



"The Spirit of '76"

"If Englishmen could go from revolutionaries to conservative...why should Americans not accept the fact they have traveled from revolution to reaction..."

It is time to close the book on the 4th of July. It was splendid once, but it no longer becomes us. If we must go ahead celebrating it for years to come, it would make more sense to treat it as a day for honoring King George III, whose principles we so roundly endorse.

Far better to abolish it altogether, perhaps by turning it into one of those four-day holiday weekends which could be celebrated at the start of August, and by renaming it the Sentimentality Day Weekend (S.D.W.).

There is no likelihood of early abolition, unfortunately. The Government is determined to preserve it through the bicentennial celebration in 1976, which everybody believes can be a good shot in the arm for business.

ELIMINATE PRESIDENCY PAPER AVAILABLE

THE BLACK PANTHER has available upon request copies of the Black Panther Party's Position Paper on the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President. This important document may be obtained free of charge by writing: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94621.

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC SERVICE DIRECTORY

As a service to the Los Angeles community, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints below a Public Service Directory prepared by L. A. Assemblyman Henry A. Waxman's district office. THE BLACK PANTHER is currently preparing a similar city directory for Oakland, California, which we will publish soon.

THE BLACK PANTHER urges community minded service organizations throughout the country to prepare directory guides like the following for their city, town or community for publication and distribution. We will consider for publication in THE BLACK PANTHER any such directory forwarded to us.

Neighborhood Problems

Agencies handling "Neighborhood Problems" are listed as CITY or COUNTY. The services provided by CITY agencies apply only to residents of the City of Los Angeles. Services for residents of the unincorporated areas of West Hollywood and Marina del Rey are provided by the COUNTY agencies shown. Residents of Culver City should report "Neighborhood Problems" to the Culver City Administration Office, 837-5211.

REMOVING AN ABANDONED CAR

If the car is abandoned on public property in the City, call the Police at 485-2681. If it is on private property in the City, call the City Conservation Dept., 624-7221.

If the car is on either public or private property in the County areas, call the County Sheriff: West Hollywood, 272-9681; Marina del Rey, 678-3801.

SOLVING TRASH COLLECTION PROBLEMS

To complain about City trash collection, call the City Sanitation Dept.: East of La Brea, 485-4922; West Side, 272-6376; Venice, 393-9931. To complain about County trash collection, call the County Department of Environmental Management, 974-7868.

You may make an appointment to have a truck pick up bulky items such as furniture you wish to throw out. In the City, call 272-6376. In the West Hollywood County area, call 564-6949.

REPORTING IMPROPER STREET CLEANING

To report dirty City streets, call the City Street Cleaning Department: L.A. Area, 485-5661; West L.A., 478-9414; Venice, 821-1587. For County streets, call the County Road Department at 678-9043.

REPORTING TREES WHICH BLOCK SIDEWALKS

Trees which need trimming to avoid blocking the sidewalk or road should be reported if they are on public property. Call the City Tree Trimming Department at 485-5675 or call the County Tree Service at 327-8600.

REPORTING STREETS BLOCKED BY FALLEN TREE

Emergency crews will clear streets of fallen trees and other debris. The City gives 24-hour service for this: Hollywood Yard, 462-0963; Venice yard, 821-1587. For County streets, call the County Road Department, 655-6311 or 974-2345.

REPORTING DEAD ANIMALS OR ANIMAL PROBLEMS

To have a dead animal removed in the City, call the City Sanitation Dept. at 485-4906. In County areas, call the County Department of Animal Control at 327-1171.

To complain about stray animals or animals making loud noises, call: City Animal Regulation Department, 731-8281; or County Department of Animal Control, 327-1171.

For assistance in rodent control, all residents should call the County Health Department: L.A. Area, 278-6522; West L.A., 829-2911.

Electrical Blackouts, Exposed Live Wires, Serious Water Problems

In the City, call the City Department of Water and Power: L.A. Area, 481-4211; West L.A., 479-4286. Outside of the City of Los Angeles, call the Edison Company during business hours as follows: West Hollywood and Culver City, 870-0281; Marina del Rey, 394-3751. The Edison Company number for nights, weekends and holidays in each of these areas is 275-5513.

Health and Legal Problems

FREE HEALTH CLINICS

The Los Angeles Free Clinic at 115 N. Fairfax Avenue offers a full range of medical, dental and psychological services at no charge. The Clinic is especially helpful to youths with such problems as narcotics addiction, venereal disease, and emotional crises. The Clinic also offers pregnancy and abortion counseling. Services are provided by experienced professionals who donate their time. Open 10 AM to 10 PM. Call 938-9141.

The Venice Community Family Health Center at 316 S. Lincoln Blvd. offers free services similar to those provided by the L.A. Free Clinic. The Venice Health Center is open evenings only, 6 to 10 PM. Call 392-4125.

The L.A. County Health Department has many local Health Centers offering medical and psychological services. Call: Hollywood-Wilshire, 464-9121; West L.A., 829-2911; Southwest, 731-8541.

HOT MEALS FOR DISABLED SENIOR CITIZENS

Disabled elderly persons in the Beverly Fairfax area may qualify for low-cost hot meals at the young Israel Synagogue, 7711 Melrose Avenue. Meals are delivered to the home in rare cases. All food is Kosher. For more information, call "Meals On Wheels," 938-6271.

FREE LEGAL ASSISTANCE

the Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles offers free legal services to people who cannot afford an attorney. Call to make an appointment: L.A. Area, 731-8801; Venice, 392-4177 or 870-4672.

HELP IN A SUICIDE CRISIS

For immediate skilled help in coping with a potential suicide, call the Suicide Prevention Center, 381-5111. Open 24 hours a day.

FAST HELP WITH A NARCOTICS PROBLEM

To obtain crisis counseling or referral for youngsters or adults with narcotics and related problems, call The Hot Line, 666-1015. Open 24 hours a day.

Government Services

SOCIAL SECURITY INFORMATION

The Social Security Administration is in charge of the following federal benefit programs; Old Age Benefits, Medicare, Widows' Pensions, and aid to the blind and disabled. You can also contact them to obtain a social security card. To find out what office serves your zip code, call: L.A. Area, 227-1111; West L.A., 984-2034; Culver City, Marina del Rey and Venice, 673-5222.

Welfare, Medi-Cal, Foster Child Programs and Other County Social Services

L.A. County's Department of Social Services handles a variety of programs. Public assistance programs include Welfare, Food Stamps, Medi-Cal, and AFDC. This Department is also in charge of the Foster Child Program, protection for abused children, and child adoption services. Various local offices handle different programs and you must register at an office serving your district. Call "Inquiry" at 266-4862 and state the program in which you are interested and your exact street address.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

The State's Department of Employment Development (formerly human Resources Development) maintains several local offices which handle unemployment benefits and job placement services. You must register for unemployment benefits at the office serving your zip code. Call 744-2121 to ask about your local office.

OBTAINING A DRIVER'S LICENSE OR REGISTERING A CAR

The Department of Motor Vehicles issues driver's licenses and motor vehicle registrations. Offices are: 803 Cole Ave., Hollywood, 469-2291; 11400 Washington Blvd., Culver City, 390-3693 or 838-3191.

VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTING INFORMATION

You can find out the location of a Deputy Registrar of Voters who can register you, change your party affiliation, address, or name by calling the County Registrar of Voters at 974-6711. The County Registrar can also answer most questions you might have about state or federal elections. For information on L.A. City elections, contact the City Clerk, 485-3581.

OBTAINING BIRTH AND DEATH CERTIFICATES

Certificates of births and deaths which occur in L.A. County are available from the County Recorder for $2. Send your request and $2 to the County Recorder, Room 10, Hall of Records, 227 N. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012.

INFORMATION ON HIGHWAY CONDITIONS

The California Highway Patrol maintains a 24-hour recorded information service giving the latest information on winds, snow and rain affecting motorists on California highways. Call 626-7231.

REPORTING AIR POLLUTION PROBLEMS

The Air Pollution Control District (APCD) handles information about smog alerts and other pollution conditions. It also follows up on citizens' complaints about factories or other businesses which pollute our air. Call 974-7411 or write to: Air Pollution Control District, 434 S. San Pedro Street, Los Angeles 90013.

INFORMATION ABOUT CHARITIES

The Department of Social Services, Los Angeles City Hall, Room 1501, 200 North Spring Street, Los Angeles 90012, phone 268-8281, regulates and investigates charitable solicitations in Los Angeles. Legitimate charities almost always have official information cards from the Department or are on file with the Department.

To obtain a permit for fund-raising activity for a nonprofit organization, contact the Department of Social Services at least one month before the event.

Consumer Protection

The federal government, the State of California and the City of Los Angeles all have agencies to handle consumer complaints:

Federal Consumer Products Safety Commission, 688-7272

State Department of Consumer Affairs, 620-4360

Los Angeles Consumer Affairs Bureau, 485-4681

There is a special State agency devoted to checking into complaints about incompetent auto mechanics and dishonest or unscrupulous practices by auto repair shops. Send a detailed complaint to the Bureau of Automotive Repairs, 2815 "O" Street, Sacramento 95816.

A pamphlet explaining the consumer protections available through Small Claims Court may be obtained by writing to: Department of Consumer Affairs, 1020 "N" Street, Sacramento 95814.

Business and Personal Loans

The Small Business Administration, an agency of the federal government, is devoted to counseling small businessmen and to helping them obtain financial help. Call them at 688-2956, or write: Small Business Administration, 849 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90014.

Small businessmen, students, or people in temporary financial distress who are unable to get loans elsewhere may be eligible for a loan from the Jewish Federation Council. Loans are granted without regard to your religion. Call the Jewish Free Loan, 664-1145 or 663-8484.

Volunteer Jobs for Senior Citizens

Any retired person who is above the age of 60 and wishes to do volunteer work in schools, hosptials, libraries or nonprofit youth organizations should contact the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP). Headquarters are in the Senior Citizens Building, 4153 Overland Avenue, Culver City 90230. Call Denise Pickering, 559-5088.

Intercommunal News

U.N. COMMISSION CONFIRMS "MANY HUNDREDS" MASSACRED IN MOZAMBIQUE

(United Nations, N.Y.) - "Many hundreds" of unarmed villagers were killed in Mozambique by Portuguese troops is the conclusion reached by the five member United Nations commission established last fall to investigate reports of massacres in Mozambique.

This conclusion was reached on the basis of testimony by a total of 69 people in Europe and Tanzania, the commission chairman, Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay of Nepal, said in a press conference here last week. The Portuguese government refused to cooperate with the commission and therefore it was unable to visit Mozambique itself.

Mr. Upadhyay said the commission had been told that the most recent mass slaying occurred near Inhaminga in central Mozambique in March. A Dutch missionary in the Mozambique capital of Lourenco Marques, Father Andre van Zom, told the *French Press Agency* on May 28 that he had a list of 120 persons massacred in Inhaminga.

Four journalists—a South African, two Dutchmen and a British newsreel cameraman—were prevented by Portuguese authorities in Mozambique from entering the area of Inhaminga in the end of May, according to the South African *Rand Daily Mail*. The four were told by an Army colonel that they would in the future need permits to enter the Inhaminga area.

The U.N. commission, consisting of Mr. Upadhyay, Mr. Heinz-Dieter Winter of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Roberto Martinez Ordonez of Honduras, Mr. Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar and Mr. Atle Grael-Nausen of Norway, was formed last fall after reports of atrocities in Mozambique were filtered out of Mozambique by missionary priests.

The investigators spent three weeks in Europe, mainly interviewing missionaries in Spain, Italy and Britain who had served in Mozambique before being compelled to leave. Mr. Upadhyay said the missionaries had talked with survivors of the massacres.



Portuguese soldiers cut off left ear of man, above, and burned his arms with napalm.

The commission also spent two weeks in Tanzania taking testimony from spokesmen for the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and witnesses who told of having seen the killings, many of them children. The commission chairman criticized the new Portuguese government for not cooperating with the inquiry and not permitting the commission to enter Mozambique or to interview military authorities.

The reported Inhaminga massacre, which occurred just a month before the overthrow of the fascist regime of Marcello Caetano in Portugal, was conducted, according to reports, in an attempt to crush the Mozambique liberation movement.

Among the massacres investigated by the commission was the one that occurred in the village of Wiriyamu in the Tete province of Mozambique in December, 1972. According to the reports of missionaries, Portuguese troops murdered more than 400 African villagers, including women, children and old persons, because the village was thought to be sympathetic to the FRELIMO liberation guerrillas.□

ETHIOPIA'S MILITARY CONDUCTS CIVILIZED, BLOODLESS COUP

WESTERN "EXPERTS" BAFFLED

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) - In what has undoubtedly been the most civilized, bloodless and orderly military coup d'etat in modern history, the armed services of Ethiopia have effectively taken over control of this feudal, poverty-ridden east African country.

The smooth operation of the lower-ranking officers and representatives of the enlisted ranks of the Ethiopian military has baffled Western reporters and "experts" on Africa, eager to misrepresent all progressive African political change as violent, immature, reckless and potentially dangerous for the welfare of the African people.

Clearly aimed at destroying forever the absolute power of the Ethiopian ruling clique of great landholders and traditional aristocrats at the court of Emperor Haile Selassie, the armed services rebelling forces are at the same time guaranteeing the traditional person of the 83-year-old Emperor as the historic symbol of the centuries-long ruling dynasty of Ethiopia.

Over the past two weeks the armed services committee has quietly been rounding up and placing under detention a number of members of Ethiopia's ruling aristocracy. They are charged with interfering with, delaying and attempting to prevent democratic reforms demanded by the armed services following the April rebellion that swept the country and forced the creation of a new Cabinet.

Among those reportedly placed under detention have been the grandson of the Emperor, Rear Admiral Iskinder Desta, formerly commander of the Ethiopian Navy, a security police chief and a former high court justice. Others include Ras (Duke) Asrate Kassa, president of the powerful, 12-member Crown Council and reputedly one of the richest men in the country, and Betwodeid Zewde Gebrehiod, president of the Senate.

Others detained are the Defense Minister, Lt. Gen. Abiye Abebe, Ras Mesfin Sileshi, a close adviser to the Emperor, and several members of the Ethiopian Parliament, all of whom come from Ethiopia's aristocracy. The total number being held is not thought to exceed 30 persons.

The New York Times reports that the detainees are being held in "relative comfort" at the grounds of the imperial golf club, and they have been promised that their families will soon be allowed to visit them. Others are being detained at a military encampment near Addis Ababa.

An Army spokesman said last week that the arrest had been

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EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE of Ethiopia is losing his absolute power as the military take over proceeds.

TANZANIA'S U.N. ENVOY DISCUSSES LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

CONCLUSION

The following concludes an interview begun last week with Salim A. Salim, Tanzanian ambassador to the United Nations and the chairman of the influential U.N. Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization. He also acts as his country's ambassador to Cuba and Trinadad-Tobago. Under Brother Salim, the Committee of 24 has served as an effective watchdog and pressure group, concerning itself with the struggles for liberation and independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The interview took place at the U.N. on May 13, 1974.



SALIM A. SALIM, Tanzanian ambassador to the United Nations.

QUESTION: What possibilities do you see for the new state of Guinea-Bissau becoming a member of the United Nations in the next General Assembly?

SALIM: If we are to talk in terms of democracy and what the majority wishes I can forsee the situation where the overwhelming majority of the member states will be in favor of the membership of Guinea-Bissau. But for Guinea-Bissau to become a member of the United Nations it must have the recommendation of the Security Council, and that is where you have the veto powers on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council.

Two of these permanent members are definitely going to support, without reservation, the membership of Guinea-Bissau: China and the Soviet Union. But the United States' position, the French position, the United Kingdom position is still uncertain. In my own personal opinion I think it is quite possible, and we should be working at it, to persuade the British from casting a negative vote.

QUESTION: What about France?

SALIM: The French position again is dubious. If the current government continues in power, if the policies of the current government are to be perpetuated, then I would say that there is some optimism for the French position to be that of abstention. Because as you know the French delegation abstained in the General Assembly. Furthermore, from my own personal contacts with some of the French officials I have the impression that they would not go to the extreme of casting a negative vote on this question....

But I am very skeptical about the American position. If we are to go by the position of the United Sates with respect to the Portuguese colonies last year then we can be sure of a negative vote.

QUESTION: I would think that the United Kingdom would also be a definite negative vote.

SALIM: As I say my cautious optimism is based on a hypothetical concept of sincerity on the part of the (Labor) government... This would be a test case for the Labor government in view of the many promises they made before they came into power—in terms of a better understanding towards the liberation struggle, in terms of dissociating from supporting the Portuguese fascist authorities in the colonial territories...That is why I say I have cautious optimism for a British abstention...

Let me qualify that and say that in the past we have had a worse situation with the Labor government than with the Conservative government. After all UDI (the unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia's White minority) and the failure to topple that rebellion came under Mr. Wilson's government, if you remember. We have had our experiences, but I always like to give people the benefit of the doubt.

QUESTION: What will the Committee of 24 continue to do? Will you be a watchdog of the situation and keep on top of events in Portugal and push where you can?

SALIM: Definitely. The Committee of 24 will continue to be as active as possible with respect to the territories under Portuguese domination until such time when the people of these areas attain self-determination and independence. We will continue to work for the mobilization of international public opinion in support of the liberation movements. We will also continue to channel assistance to the liberation movements.

We do not have any illusions. We would like to be proved wrong, we would like the Portuguese government to now take a

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AFRICA IN FOCUS

KENYA

The Swahili language has been proclaimed the official language of the east African country of Kenya. Formerly a British colony, until last week when Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta made the announcement, English had been the official language of Kenya. Swahili, one of the most widely spoken indigenous African languages, is also spoken in southern Somalia, southern Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda, western Zambia, northern Mozambique and a large portion of Zaire (Congo, Kinshasha).

GUINEA- BISSAU

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) has assured Black soldiers pressed into service by the Portuguese colonial forces that the liberation movement intended to take no vengeance against them. Following talks with representatives of the PAIGC, *The New York Times* quotes a Guinean member of the Portuguese marines as saying, "...we have nothing to worry about from the PAIGC." Formerly, Black Portuguese soldiers were fearful that the PAIGC forces would inflict terrible vengeance upon them after victory for allowing themselves to be used against their own people.

O.A.U.

The Organization of African Unity Liberation Committee has set up an advisory body of eight members to assist the liberation movements in the Portuguese-occupied territories of Africa in their negotiations with the Portuguese government. The body consists of Zambia, Zaire, Republic of Congo, Guinea, Senegal, Algeria and Egypt.

AZORES

A newly formed independence movement has emerged in the Azores island group demanding U.S. dollar assistance and support for the cause of independence for the Azores. This group of Portuguese dominated islands, lying in the mid-Atlantic Ocean, is the subject of current negotiations between the U.S. and the new Portuguese regime. The U.S. wants to extend its airbase rights on the islands. Previous agreements on the Azores between the U.S. and Portugal expired last February.



Police in Durban, South Africa, savagely beating strikers in a confrontation early last year.

PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS REFUSE TO FIGHT IN ANGOLA'S CABINDA REGION

(Algiers, Algeria) - The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) office here has received a taped communique from 150 Portuguese soldiers stationed in Angola's Cabinda region who declare that they have refused to continue fighting the colonial war and that they have demanded Angola's independence, as well as that of the other two Portuguese African colonies —Mozambique and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

According to an article in the Italian daily *Il Manifesto* made available by the People's Translation Service in Berkeley, the declaration follows similar recent developments in the other Portuguese African colonies. On June 20, Portuguese officers stationed in southern Mozambique called for a ceasefire and direct contact with FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique). Many Portuguese soldiers in Guinea-Bissau have also declared that "if negotiations do not bring immediate results we shall negotiate with the PAIGC...ourselves."

The significance of the Portuguese soldiers' recent action in Cabinda is being stressed by foreign observers, many of whom, in fact, state that "the future of Angola is in the hands of Cabinda." The province, with its large oil supply, is described as the "Angolan Kuwait." The heads of Gulf Oil and other Portuguese and French oil companies are reluctant to say just how many oil reserves have actually been discovered in Cabinda.



Angolan women guerrilla fighters have played a major role in freeing their country from Portuguese colonialism.

In 1974, Gulf Oil will reportedly pay approximately $400 million in royalties to the government of Portugal. The production for the first two months of this year, at over one million tons, was double that of the first two months of last year.

The recent actions of the Portuguese soldiers point to the end of Portugal's 500-year long rule in Angola. The July 8 issue of *Time* magazine states that the Portuguese are committed to holding a referendum to determine whether the African population of Angola prefers full

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ANTI GUERRILLA TRAINING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE STEPPED UP

(Groblersdal, South Africa) - South African police are being given intensive antiguerrilla training, according to a *Reuters* dispatch from here reported in *The Christian Science Monitor.* Every six weeks about 300 policemen go through a crash course in weapons training, tactics and "guerrilla psychology" at South Africa's antiguerrilla school in rugged bush country near this northeast Transvaal town.

So far, according to *Reuters*, some 6,000 men have taken the course. The government aims to give the same military training to virtually every policeman in South Africa. The antiguerrilla course is completely opposite to normal police training, which "stresses a calm, nonviolent manner. Now the policeman becomes a trained killer."

South Africa has common borders with Mozambique, Zambia and Rhodesia. The alleged reason for the intensification of antiguerrilla training of the police is to equip them to fight together with troops of the racist minority regime in Rhodesia against Zimbabwe freedom fighters along the sensitive borders.

However, the *Times of Zambia* reported recently that Rhodesia has asked for 11,000 more South African soldiers to fight guerrillas in Rhodesia. The request comes in the wake of intensified freedom fighter activities in Rhodesia, according to spokesmen of the liberation movements of Rhodesia.

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SOUTH AFRICA

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South Africa denies that troops from the South African army are fighting in Rhodesia and claims that only police action along the border occupy South African police.

During the course of antiguerrilla "police" training, men in military khaki and carrying rifles throw grenades into a mock camouflaged "guerrilla camp" and move in after it has been softened up by mortar fire. The course began in 1967, according to the report, "when South Africa decided to commit policemen to Rhodesia to stop the guerrilla menace along the Zambezi River (which marks the border between Rhodesia and Zambia) rather than be faced with African nationalist insurgents along its own frontier."

The other main operating area for South African antiguerrilla "police" forces has been the sensitive Caprivi strip area of South West Africa (Namibia), a thin finger of land which has borders, with Rhodesia, Zambia, Botswana, and Angola.

Recently the South African government announced that the Army had taken over from the police the "defense" of South West Africa's border area, releasing these police for duty inside Rhodesia. In recent years many South African police have been killed in the Caprivi strip in guerrilla ambushes and landmine blasts.

In a move calculated to set the stage for the use of Black South Africans against their brother freedom fighters in Rhodesia, Zambia, Mozambique and eventually within South Africa, for the first time in its history the South African army has decided to train Africans in the use of firearms.

Initially the Africans will only be used to guard military installations. But, the move could ultimately mean Black soldiers on border duty and fighting against the guerrillas. The report indicates that as well as White South African police, Black police will also be given the new antiguerrilla training. □

ETHIOPIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

ordered for the sake of "smooth functioning" of the government. The new Cabinet, set up under the pressure of the Army rebellion in April, is pledged to a program of early land reform and steps to narrow the wide gap between the rich and poor in Ethiopia.

The armed services committee has taken the action of the past two weeks in consequence of the failure of the government of Prime Minister Endalkachew Makonnen, appointed by the the Emperor following the events of April to move speedily enough in needed reforms and in removing and bringing to trial Cabinet members and military leaders accused of corruption and mismanagement.

The situation has been aggravated by several years of severe drought which has resulted in major crop failures and widespread starvation. Charges against the Makonnen government include the failure of his government to administer and distribute famine relief aid provided from abroad and failure to take other emergency measures to meet the needs of remote drought-stricken areas of the country.

Latest reports indicate that Emperor Haile Selassie has conceded to the demands of the armed services committee to order urgent reviews of the cases of political prisoners preliminary to granting a widespread amnesty. Ruthless suppression of movements for social change in Ethiopia has characterized this monarchy for years. More recently, the events of April resulted in the arrest of officers and civilians who participated in the rebellion, some of whom are still being held.

Basic constitutional reforms have been promised by both the Emperor and the government of Prime Minister Makonnen. A commission for constitutional reform is currently meeting and preparing a report on its proposals. □



This man symbolizes masses of starving people in Ethiopia.

WORLD SCOPE

HONDURAS

Six thousand banana workers in Honduras have won their fight against the U.S.-based Standard Fruit Company which, on June 25, agreed to accept the wage demands of the workers. The demands included a 13 per cent salary increase, Christmas pay and vacations. Standard Fruit has been leading a corporate fight against a dollar-a-crate tax on Central American bananas, and the Costa Rican government has announced its decision to purchase Standard's banana plantations. Daniel Oduber, president of Costa Rica, said Standard is prepared to withdraw from production in Costa Rica and handle marketing only.

SOUTH VIETNAM

The fascist Saigon regime has revealed that 118 South Vietnamese refugees forced by the government to return to Saigon after they had escaped to Hong Kong have been taken to Con Son prison island, site of the infamous tiger cages. The refugees were intercepted in a junk off the coast of Hong Kong on June 2, after being smuggled out of Saigon. Most had fled to avoid the draft. The refugees, warning that they could face a firing squad if they were returned to Saigon, appealed to Hong Kong authorities for political asylum and reportedly also appealed to the U.S. and Australia for asylum. Saigon has admitted that the refugees face a possible sentence of life at hard labor.

SOUTH KOREA

Fearing its collapse, the U.S.-puppet Park Chung Hee government is sponsoring the first intensive anti-Communist campaign since 1972, when North and South Korea signed a joint statement that included a promise by both governments to "refrain from slandering" each other. On June 22, the ruling Republican party announced a public campaign to "strengthen the anti-Communist consciousness of the South Korean people." The government campaign follows charges by Park this spring that the large student opposition movement in South Korea is Communist-inspired and run from North Korea.

ENTERTAINMENT

MARYLAND PRISONERS FRAMED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5
during the incident. But seeing a possible avenue to freedom he volunteered to testify as an eye witness.

After recognizing the derangement of his protectors he tried to change his mind. For this he was beaten time and again in order to make him remember his story. His own protectors broke his arm. Frustrated, Sawyer tried four times to take his own life but, even this was unsuccessful. This situation became impossible to conceal. Finally, one guard was suspended for 10 days and another reprimanded while the prisoner was transferred to another institution. He hasn't been heard of since.

So, the state presented its case with one guard after another giving conflicting testimonies in an effort to confuse the jury. What was disclosed was that the guards themselves started what amounted to a small riot as they were beating prisoners long before any resistance developed. Not until they vamped on Brother Robert Foulks did they receive any resistance.

The only evidence presented were two homemade knives and two blooded shirts. The state asserted that the knives belonged to Brothers Foulks and Wiggins, and that the shirts belonged to a guard, J. O. Johnson. The state rested its case without proving anything.

Then, while witness after witness testified for the defense, agents of the state sat in the back of the court recording what was being said. Hearing witnesses testify that the defendants were members of the Maryland Pen Intercommunal Survival Collective (MPISC), founded by Brother Eddie Conway which had implemented programs and organized in the interest of prisoners, the agents went into action.

They went to the "bull pen" and called defense witnesses into different cells intimidating and offering propositions to the witnesses. The brothers refused and told defense lawyers what occurred, particularly of the harassment by one of the guards who lied on the stand. Of course, lawyers for the defense protested and motioned for dismissal but, Judge Paul Dolf merely bared his teeth and denied the motions.
CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

LOU GOSSETT: "DON'T BLAME ACTORS FOR BLAXPLOITATION FILMS"

(Hollywood, Calif.) - When it comes to the flurry of discussion surrounding the wave of blaxploitation movies of the past five years, Actor Lou Gossett, to paraphrase a famous politician, wants to make one thing perfectly clear: if you're upset about these flicks, don't blame the Black actors appearing in them. They're "just out there tryin' to make a living."

Gossett, who co-starred with James Garner in the movie, *Skin Game*, and who has appeared in several television segments, is now currently being seen in another movie, *The Laughing Policeman*, which isn't the least bit funny and is, in fact, a hard-hitting story of police work in San Francisco.

SEEDY CHARACTERS

The Laughing Policeman is by no means a blaxploitation film. In fact, Gossett is the only major Black character in the flick and his role is comparatively small. But there has been a veritable flood of Black movies peopled with a wide assortment of dope dealers, pimps, gangsters and other seedy characters. And Lou has a cautious opinion of them.

"I think these characters definitely have an effect on kids," the actor admits. "All you have to do is watch the kids who've seen these films. The movies are placing aspirations in the minds of these kids; aspirations of their becoming super heroes and thus escaping the ghetto bag they're in.



LOU GOSSETT, the talented Black actor who stars as a San Francisco cop in The Laughing Policeman.

"Of course, what they don't realize is that these characters only exist in films, especially in the glorified form in which they're portrayed. The kids have a strong desire to grow and be more than their environment allows, but the goals they've gleaned from these movies are unattainable. Instead of winding up as heroes or gangsters, they can wind up dead."

Since Gossett admits that such film characterizations do, indeed, influence the actions and goals of young viewers, does he then feel that despite loud protestations to the contrary, these actors do owe some consideration to their audiences when they accept roles? Does it become too shallow an answer for an actor to say simply that he "has to eat" and thus must accept whatever is offered?

Gossett thinks not. He feels an actor's first responsibility is to work—wherever and whenever possible. "At this particular time in film history Black actors need to work more than anything else. Experience is the only way to grow.

"Besides," he continues, "the responsibility for film imagery must be extended to the producers who come up with these scripts. They're the ones who come up with these blaxploitation scripts. The blame can't be placed on Black actors because they have to work—any place and any time they can. They have rent to pay just like everybody else."

(The above article is excerpted from a piece written by Walter Burrell.) □

REGISTER TO VOTE

Close To The Sea

It's not the sea
that rolls indifferent
over the white sand.

It's not the moon
that shines, haughty
over the silver leaves of the palm trees.

The essence
is the new consciousness;
knowledge
became the instrument of those who don't know.
Ignorance, superstition, backwardness
crumble like sandcastles
before the wind of science and materialism.

What's important
is the uniting of head
and hands
in the collective and liberating act of working
the land
so that the cornfield's green waves
will grow everywhere.

What's important
is the mind and the acts and the feelings of each
individual
settling in the community
like drops of water which, one by one,
make up a vast ocean filling up the world.

Close to the sea,
a new poem
for new people.

FRELIMO
1974

MARYLAND PRISONERS

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

This was the turning point in the case. Since the same guards who lied on the stand went in force harassing, threatening and intimidating witnesses it was no longer conducive to call them because they knew that if they told the truth their lives would be in danger. Consequently, these witnesses had to be dropped — and they were crucial to the defense. Nevertheless, it was illustrated that the entire scenario was merely another attempt to destroy the MPISC because of its work in the penitentiary. But the judge was very arrogant and obviously biased in his charge to the jury.

The trial of Thomas Gaither, fifth membér of the Maryland Pen Five, was severed from the other four and is scheduled to begin July 17th. The support of the community is ultimately the condition for acquittal. The events during Brother Gaither's trial and the outcome will demonstrate whether any working knowledge was gained from the experience of the proceeding trial.

Whatever the outcome, the Five have vowed to maintain their determination to struggle in the interest of the people as long as there is breath in their bodies. For they recognize as does the MPISC that one or a few defeats in battle does not decide a war.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!

(Written by the Maryland Pen Intercommunal Survival Collective.)☐

REGISTER TO VOTE

CABINDA REGION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

independence or a loose federation with Lisbon. The African people, led by the MPLA, have made it more than clear that they will settle for nothing less than total independence. Yet, Portugal insists on holding a referendum because of her reluctance to grant immediate, total self-rule to the African majority.

Portuguese President Antonio de Spinola's assurances that there will be an orderly transfer of power in Angola have been credited with keeping Angola's 500,000 Whites and 250,000 people of mixed blood (compared to five million Africans) calm and apparently willing to remain in the country once independence is granted. However, the White population is counting on so-called "good people" (African and mulatto) to gain control after independence. Said one European, "If the wild ones get in and turn the masses against the rest of us, then I will have to go."☐

SPORTS

PROF. PAUL HOCH VISITS OFFICES OF THE BLACK PANTHER

(Oakland, Calif.) - THE BLACK PANTHER editorial cadre was pleased to welcome to its offices on East 14th Street last week Dr. Paul Hoch, chairman of the Department of Humanities at Dawson College in Montreal, Canada, professor in the sociology of sports and regular contributor to the sports page of THE BLACK PANTHER.

Dr. Hoch first contacted THE BLACK PANTHER by letter about eight months ago, enclosing an article he had written on racism in sports and asking if we would like to publish the piece. At that time the editorial cadre was discussing expansion of the paper to include a sports page and an entertainment page. Dr. Hoch's piece arrived right on time.

We immediately replied to Dr. Hoch, whom we only knew through his letter and article, thanked him for his contribution and encouraged him to send us more. This was the beginning of a regular exchange only interrupted by the recent Canadian postal workers strike.

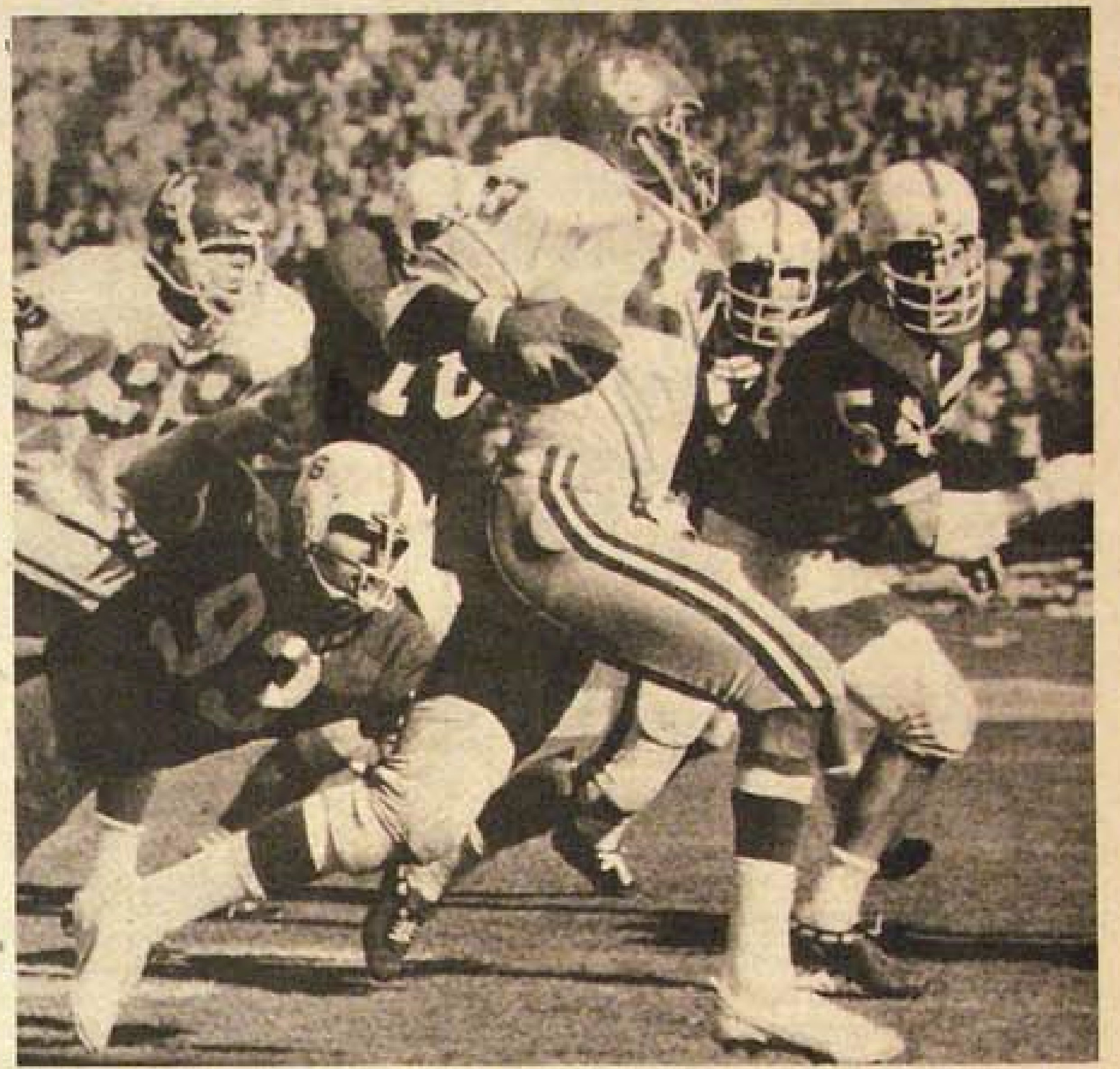
Last week we received a visit from Dr. Hoch, who was vacationing in the Bay Area, and had the opportunity to show him around our facility and to introduce him to members of our cadre.

During his visit Dr. Hoch talked with our Editor-in-Chief about future contributions to our sports page and to our paper. He also assured us that he would contact others in his field and in the general area of sports to encourage them to also contribute to THE BLACK PANTHER.

Professor Hoch is the author of *Rip Off the Big Game*, a devastating and fascinating examination of sports in the U.S.A. as an opiate of the American people and as a financial rip-off by big business. Excerpts have appeared in THE BLACK PANTHER.□

"BREAD-N-CIRCUSES: GLADIATORS FOR THE MODERN EMPIRE"

In Part 2 of "Bread-n-Circuses: Gladiators for the Modern Empire," Dr. Paul Hoch [see story, this page] continues his look at the spectacular holiday weekend bowl games in college football, asking the provocative question, "what makes the big game so big." Among his answers is "spending money."



College football has proved to be a successful tool for administrators to raise needed funds for their schools.

The college football big game ritual has long been, among other things, the key to the cash collection. Basically, the idea has been that if you could get the old grads to come back for the big games, perfume them a bit with the fragrance of college tradition, douse them in a few fraternity boozes and all that, the building fund will be sure to boom. If some of the alumni were organized in a fraternity or a military unit, it was just that much easier to get them to come out together. And so what if you threw in a little patriotism with the half-time show (for example, in the late sixties the usual Air Force jets over the stadium and a moment of silence for our prisoners in North Vietnam).

College nationalism is just one of the socializing units for American nationalism; for "Americanism." The idea has been that if the students and the old grads could be steered to identify with the college and its traditions, it would be that much easier to identify with the country and its (properly whitewashed) traditions.

And vice versa. If you could convince the old grads that college football, and college tradition generally, was Americanism, then the college coffers were sure to swell. At this point the college presidents and alumni seemed to go into partnership with the politicians and generals in the galleries of the big games, all trying to cash in on the big spectacles and boost their own version of super-patriotism.

There is nothing uniquely American about all this. The Roman Caesars were well aware of the importance of their attendance at the big gladiator and Olympic games as a symbol, and confirmation, of their power. Then too it was quite clear to the decadent Greek monarchy in 1896 that it would be useful to the throne to be present to give out the medals at the first modern Olympic Games. The Governor General of Canada is always on hand to give out the Grey Cup to the winner of the annual Canadian pro football championship. Queen Elizabeth, or another member of the British royal family, is present to award the trophy to the Wimbledon tennis champion. Adolph Hitler and his leading generals were careful to insert themselves into the center of the award ceremonies at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. And even our own Emperor Nixon rarely fails to try to get into the act.

QUESTION

But, when all is said and done, the question remains: just what is it that makes the big games so big? A large part of the answer lies in the humdrum, and even boring, character of much of our working lives in between the big games. In Roman days the use of slave labor on the latifundia put a large part of the Roman citizenry out of work, and turned them into a potentially restless urban rabble, which the emperors kept diverted from political rebellion with bread and gladiator circuses.

TO BE CONTINUED

REGISTER TO VOTE

S.Q.6 TRIAL TESTIMONY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3
on me... And I didn't want him to think I was weak—all chained up like an animal..."

Prior to Luis Talamantez' testimony, David Johnson established his credentials as a very intelligent and articulate young man but, like Luis, suffering from bad health, specifically, extremely high blood pressure that continues to go untreated.

Commenting that he had "almost reached the limits of my patience" because of the level of madness and insanity perpetuated in the AC, Brother Johnson pointed out that being held prisoner (in the AC) he must go without involvement in prison programs and that there was no evaluation or review process for inmates held in the AC.

"What should one do to get out of AC?" Johnson asked the court, saying that if there were any legitimate guidelines for behavior he could follow, he would.

Last to take the stand last week was Brother Robert Devon, Jr., who provided insightful comparisons between life in the AC, on Death Row and in Quentin's "B"-wing.

Devon also testified that in a very short period of time he secretly collected 259 signatures from brothers on "the mainline" (general population) supporting the San Quentin 6—Johnny Spain, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate, David Johnson, Luis Talamantez—undercutting the prison authorities argument that the Six would be unsafe in San Quentin if released from the AC into the general population.□

HAITIAN REFUGEES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6
"...I must find a place of security for my life. In Haiti there is no justice. The poor must die prematurely, often asphyxiated in jail; in Haitian jail there is no food, no water, one must drink his own urine.

"Many are stocked in one small room...If you are sick there is no medicine, no doctor. There is no shower to take a bath. Neither friends nor parents can visit...

"I cannot go back. If the regime falls today, I'm ready to go back; otherwise I'll not go back there. If all refuses to help me, send me to Africa."□

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Editor,

I'd like to say to you and your staff thanks for letting the people in the street know how it is in here. Things here in Florida are bad and getting worse. They were not letting the Brothers out on parole as it was, and now when we do our time, we are put on what they call Mandatory Conditional Release.

I'm doing 10 years. I did six years, two months and 20 days. That was all I was supposed to do on 10 years. This new thing I did not want but had to take just to get out after doing all that time. Now I'm back. I did no other crime. I could not get work in Jacksonville and went to look for work in another city. So, I'm back to do it all.

There are more Brothers coming back on this thing than there was coming back on parole violations. Not one has committed a crime. But I don't see any Whites coming back on it. But, I don't look to what hurts. We Blacks before this could not get a parole until we got down to a year or 18 months.

So, keep on telling the people what prison is about. It will soon take. And, of all things, tell the young Brothers and Sisters how to stay out of the pigs' way if they can because this is something they need to know.

Power to the People,
Charlie Nicholson
Starke, Florida

□□□

Revolutionary Greetings,

From all the revolutionary elements of Menard prison. I am the manifest will and resistance of the people. There are thousands like me. For each of us that falls ever must there be and ever will there be another to rise up and resist the imperialistic, oppressive system.

We are fortunate to be able to receive the Black Panther's News Service of events concerning the Black community. Our sources of information are very limited due to the oppressive censorship of material. "Long live the Party."

Concerning last month's take-over here in Menard; of the 60 or 70 inmates locked up for "investigation" for "alleged" involvements in that incident, only a "very" select group have been held (the cream of the progressive revolutionary element). Much reading material was stolen including Panther papers and books dealing with the Martial Arts (I'm hip!). Incidentally, I am a second degree brown belt and recently have begun to instruct classes on the prison yard so I am not surprised!

But we, the Brother revolutionaries, will forever struggle and resist as the Supreme Servant of the people teaches! Attend———.

Imari Rashi Matu
(servant of the people)
slave name: Kelvin D. Burton
Menard, Illinois

□□□

Dear Sir,

I would like to expound a bit on the first short letter I ever wrote the Black Panther News — last October — in which I pleaded for some sort of equality between the slap on the wrist received by Spiro Agnew for his crimes in office and the vindictive and brutal treatment received by thousands of poor people, including Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, poor Whites and other groups of less fortunate and less privileged people.

I myself am not one who thinks anybody shold be punished beyond the point of some usefulness and I am not necessarily opposed to humane treatment for the lesser fry — and even some big fish — caught in the Watergate mess.

But, what is absolutely intolerable is the completely unequal treatment and privilege those Watergate people get compared to the brutal and savage treatment received by all classes of people who, through no fault of their own, are unable to defend themselves or get justice from our legal system as it is actually practiced.

So, as a matter of the most basic justice — when Watergate defendants get what actually may be enlightened treatment for criminals — in the name of God Almighty — and no irreverence is expressed because this matter is so serious — in the name of God Almighty let's completely overhaul our prison and justice system to bring intelligent and enlightened justice to everyone feeling the force of law — now and for all of the future.

And if this means a wholesale release from our prisons — then so be it. I admit there will be plenty of problems but at least we can begin to iron out a system of liberty and justice for all. And no matter how many are involved, the release from a prison sentence for a rich man with power and influence who has done wrong should be balanced for equal release of all poor people in prison who have done wrong up to equal and probably a lot less than his. And by no means do I mean an exchange of one for one. I mean that all who commit equal crimes should be treated equally in every way — and this treatment should accomplish a socially useful result for all of the people. Then we will have the beginning of true liberty and justice for all.

Sincerely,
Paul H. Dubnar
Seattle, Washington

TANZANIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16
definite position towards independence. Nothing would make the Committee happier than that. The Committee prefers meaningful negotiation to continued military confrontation, if that meaningful negotiation would hand over power to the people of the territories and to their national liberation movements.

If the Portuguese government comes and says, "Gentlemen, we are prepared to negotiate with the liberation movements, we realize that there is no point in continuing this warfare, that it is not in the interest of the Portuguese nation, and the best interest of Portugal (lies) in negotiations and independence," then of course, the Committee would be operating on a different premise.

Therefore, we would see to what extent the Committee could use its position and its good offices in helping and affecting all these changes. But short of any such commitment by the Portuguese government, we will continue, as before, to support effectively the liberation movements.□

SENATE ESTABLISHES GUIDELINES FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

(Washington, D.C.) - The Senate has passed a bill allegedly designed to protect human beings used in medical and psychological testing, experimentation and research. The bill, now before the House of Representatives would create a national commission to establish guidelines for experiments with psychosurgery, sterilizations, drugs, etc.□

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quali'': clothing free to the people.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.



FREE DANCE PROGRAM
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT [S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

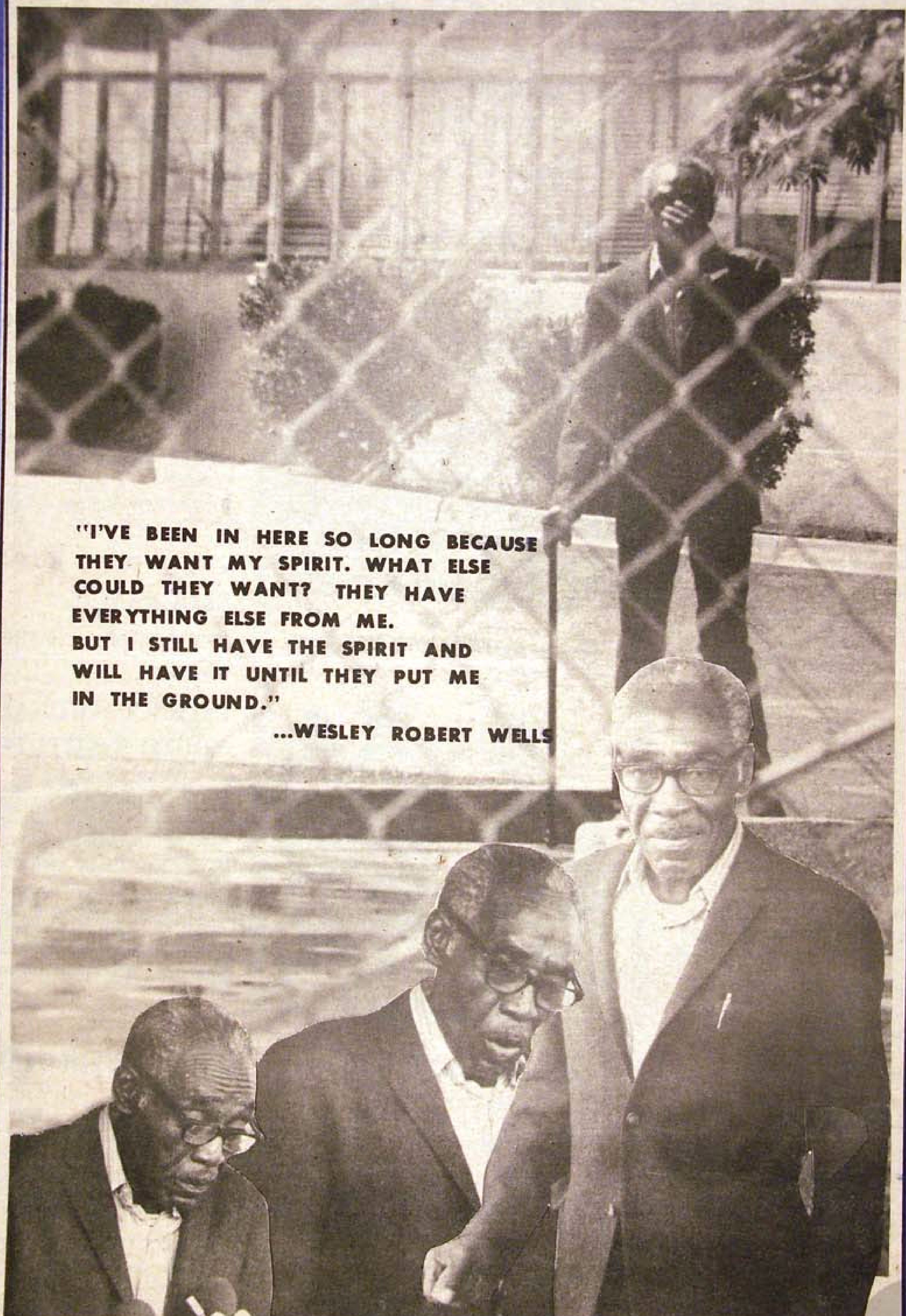
Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.

"The survival programs are the means by which you organize and unify the people for their future liberation. They give a new character to the Black liberation movement in America."

Bobby Seale


"I'VE BEEN IN HERE SO LONG BECAUSE THEY WANT MY SPIRIT. WHAT ELSE COULD THEY WANT? THEY HAVE EVERYTHING ELSE FROM ME.
BUT I STILL HAVE THE SPIRIT AND WILL HAVE IT UNTIL THEY PUT ME IN THE GROUND."
...WESLEY ROBERT WELLS